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Nation

ITALY

Freezing Fascism In . . . *Gaetano Salvemini*

How to Use a Revolution . . *J. A. Del Vayo*

How Washington Reacted *I. F. Stone*

History Unrecognized *Editorial*

*

Denmark Next?

BY JOACHIM JOESTEN

*

Lend-Lease Works Both Ways

BY ALAN BARTH

You wouldn't recognize the place!

ENGLAND today is a different country from the England of 1939. Industrially, socially, politically, it has developed so rapidly since the war began that our traditional conception of it is no longer accurate. In early issues *The Nation* will publish two articles by Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr and a series of cables by Freda Kirchwey which will give its readers a clear view of what England is like today.

DR. REINHOLD NIEBUHR, professor at Union Theological Seminary, president of the Union for Democratic Action, and a contributing editor of *The Nation*, recently returned from a long stay in England, during which he traveled extensively and talked with the people and their leaders in every field. Two things particularly impressed him:

(1) The American soldier in England is better fed, better dressed, better entertained than the British soldier; but the British soldier is better educated in the meaning of the war.

(2) Few Britons put politics ahead of the war. There are political differences, of course, but there is no political sabotage. Churchill's opposition would not think of doing the things our own Congressional Tories have done.

FREDA KIRCHWEY, editor of *The Nation*, has just gone to England. She will be given every opportunity to observe conditions, to meet people, and to ask questions. She will send frequent cables of information and comment to *The Nation*.

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Also coming in **THE** *Nation*

EUROPEAN INDUSTRY has scattered under the threat of bombs. Former agricultural countries have become industrialized, former industrial centers have been decentralized. What will be the effects of this industrial decentralization on European life and politics after the war? Dr. Fritz Sternberg, a former German economist now living in America, will examine the changes that have taken place and consider their possible consequences.

★

Must We Have Inflation?

Fires are often fought with fire. Can inflation be checked by a flexible and controlled inflation? Jerome Weinstein, a New York tax expert, thinks it can, and he has a plan.

★

WHERE WILL THE MONEY COME FROM? Stuart Chase, eminent American economist, will describe the economic situation in America after the war in a series of three articles: "Behind the Dollars," "On Armistice Day," and "Nothing to Fear but Fear."

★

LET'S LOOK AT LABOR—Four more articles in the current series are coming. How closely can British and American trade unionists cooperate with Russian trade unionists? What of isolationism in American labor? How can unions fight racial prejudice among their own members? How can labor improve its relations with the public? These questions will be discussed by Harold J. Laski, Adolf Sturmthal, Herbert R. Northrup, and Julius Hochman.

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IN THIS ISSUE

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 141

EDITORIALS

- How to Use a Revolution *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 143
History Unrecognized 144
F. D. R. on the Defensive 145

ARTICLES

- How Washington Reacted *by I. F. Stone* 146
Lend-Lease Works Both Ways *by Alan Barth* 148
50 Years Ago in *The Nation* 150
Denmark Next? *by Joachim Joesten* 151
The Chemical Revolution *by Francis Westbrook, Jr.* 152
In the Wind 154

POLITICAL WAR

- Freezing Fascism In *by Gaetano Salvemini* 155
Behind the Enemy Line *by Argus* 157

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

- A Forster Revival *by Morton Dauwen Zabel* 158
"The World Goes Toward . . ." *by Sforza* 159
Dr. Seagrave *by Marcus Duffield* 160
Human Rights and Human Society
by Martin Lebowitz 161
Fiction in Review *by Diana Trilling* 162
Music *by B. H. Haggin* 163

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 165

CROSS-WORD PUZZLE NO. 24 *by Jack Barrett* 168

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The Shape of Things

ON THREE FRONTS THE AIR IS PREGNANT with decisions that will determine the length of the war and go far toward setting the pattern of the peace. Rome, Orel, and Algiers are the key spots. By the time this issue reaches you the Badoglio government may have surrendered to General Eisenhower—in which case we shall know how far the United Nations are prepared to support postwar reactionary regimes with Allied bayonets—or all Italy may already be in the throes of full-fledged social revolution. The Italian crisis is discussed fully elsewhere in these pages. At Orel the German army braces itself for a last-ditch defense with a grimness that testifies to the desperate importance of stemming the Russian offensive. Let the Red forces smash through at Orel, driving between the central and southern Nazi armies, and the Germans will face a military disaster that will put Stalingrad in the shade. What this would do to a German morale already rocking under the blows of Mussolini's collapse, the inevitable loss of the Sicilian campaign, and the harrowing destruction of Hamburg, is not hard to imagine. Even the Franco press in Spain is already talking about "the 1918 phase of the war."

★

IN ALGIERS, TO COMPLETE THE PICTURE, Generals De Gaulle and Giraud have finally worked out the long-awaited compromise by which the armed forces of the two leaders are at last to be united. The solution of this thorny problem distinctly favors De Gaulle, who not only will act as chief executive in all civilian and political matters but who is slated to head the newly created Committee of National Defense. General Giraud, Commander in Chief of all French forces, will be ultimately responsible to this committee, though he will retain his co-chairmanship of the over-all Committee of National Liberation. Having surmounted its severest crisis, this last-named agency again confronts the United Nations with the demand that it be recognized as the official "trustee" of the French nation. No longer is it possible to point to the De Gaulle-Giraud division as a pretext for denying such recognition. On a quick decision to yield gracefully hangs the future effectiveness of our political warfare.

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THE LONDON TIMES PROBABLY EXPRESSED the concern of the British Foreign Office when it criticized the Russian government for launching a "Free German Committee" without consulting its allies. Certainly such action is unfortunate. The future of Europe should not be determined in Moscow any more than in London or Washington. But what the move reveals is something much more serious than recalcitrance on the part of Russia. It reveals, and dramatizes, the disastrous lack of a common political strategy for the war and a common political program for post-war Europe. Russia's interests demand an early end to the struggle and the creation of a stable democratic set-up in Central Europe. These aims exactly coincide with the proclaimed desires of Britain and America. But the western allies have so far shown no practical interest in democratic set-ups anywhere in Europe. They have found strategic reasons for supporting Franco in Spain, Pétain in France, and the reactionary relicts of Vichy in North Africa. They seem to be following a similarly equivocal course in Italy. If Moscow has been kept informed of British-American moves in Sicily, as the *Times* asserts, it was certainly not consulted on French policy, which it has openly disapproved. Stalin may have to swallow reaction in Western Europe. He will not permit it in the countries along Russia's endless frontier. Developments in the west undoubtedly precipitated his move in the east. Lacking any common policy, the creation of the German committee is a logical effort to stimulate revolt now and lay the foundations for a friendly Germany after the war. Only an honest application of the democratic pledges of the Allied leaders will prevent the sort of unilateral action the *Times* so earnestly deplores.

★

WHATEVER THE TERMS OF HIRE, IT IS PRETTY clear that the deal by which the Axis obtained the broadcasting services of eight Americans was a bad bargain for both sides. Indictments handed up in Washington last week confront the octet with the choice of putting bullets through their respective heads now or running the risk of eventually hanging for treason. On the other hand, the Berlin propaganda office certainly saddled itself with as mediocre a collection of misfits as it would be possible to find in the country's subversive circles: a broken-down bit actor, a would-be correspondent who never achieved a higher rating than "string man," a stock broker wiped out in the 1929 crash, two German-American school teachers whose German-Americanism at no time differed from that of Fritz Kuhn's Bund, a woman whose journalistic career culminated on the WPA Writers' Project and who frankly needed cash, and a professional Mata Hari whose life was spared by the Spanish Loyalists only through the intervention of the American State Department. As short-wave propagandists

for Dr. Goebbels, all were failures, and most of them have been off the air for some time. Few Americans ever heard them, and those who did must have been impressed with the frenzied and irrational quality of their product, as well as the ponderous Teutonic touch of their programs. In Ezra Pound the Italians drew the only American of consequence in the collection. But even here the propaganda value was low. A violent anti-democrat and by choice an exile from his hated country, Pound has no following here. For all their ineffectiveness, however, these eight warped individuals clearly did their best to aid the enemy. If they failed, so did the eight saboteurs to whom we gave short shrift last summer.

★

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT IS, AMONG other things, President of the United States and Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of a nation engaged in a world war. But to Harrison Spangler, chairman of the Republican National Committee, these jobs are subsidiary in Roosevelt's view to his position as head of the Democratic Party and important to him only in so far as he can use them to advance his candidacy for a fourth term. Mr. Spangler, with the courage of his obsession, has therefore asked Secretary Stimson, Secretary Knox, and Robert Sherwood, of the OWI, to transmit to American armed forces all over the world the Republican charge that the President's speech—it is discussed on another page—and particularly his post-war program for returning soldiers, was *primarily* a bid for a fourth term. Otherwise, Mr. Spangler sees our free institutions imperiled and "our boys and girls" reduced to "political serfs." A Washington comment suggests that what really makes Mr. Spangler and his friends angry is that the President "grabbed a political issue from under their noses." The stay-at-home Republicans, as opposed to those like Wendell Willkie who have seen the world, are willing to let Roosevelt run the "international" war if they can count on running the domestic post-war. It's an old Republican game; no wonder the Spanglers and the Landons are annoyed when Roosevelt refuses to observe the rules. Still it seems hardly worth while cluttering army newspapers and ship's bulletins with their attack on the President for his mild pledge of post-war security. Everyone, armed and unarmed, knows by now that if Roosevelt so much as pats the head of his dog Fala he is, in the opinion of the Spangler Republicans, aiming at the nomination in 1944.

★

VICE-PRESIDENT WALLACE MAY BECOME THE stepchild of the Roosevelt Administration, but for millions of workers and small farmers his Detroit speech was still the authentic voice of the New Deal. Judging from reactions to that speech, one of Wallace's best, he is to serve a dual role politically. On the one hand, he is

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to help keep labor lined up for Roosevelt. On the other, he is to be a kind of lightning rod to draw off right-wing criticism from the President himself. For labor, the renomination of Wallace in 1944 becomes a prime consideration, a test of labor's strength and some guaranty that the Administration will not go all the way on the path of appeasement. That Senator Guffey, who rarely makes important pronouncements without White House approval, should have gone on record for Wallace as Vice-Presidential nominee in 1944 may be significant. It may indicate, as did the President's praise of the speech, that Wallace can have his place on the ticket if he can stir up enough political support by the time of the convention. The slurs of the conservative press attest the fact that the Detroit speech drew blood. What we liked most about it was that in Detroit, scene of the recent anti-Negro outbreaks, the Vice-President pulled no punches on the race issue. "We cannot fight to crush Nazi brutality abroad," Mr. Wallace declared, "and condone race riots at home."

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THE FAULTS ATTRIBUTED TO OPA RENT regulation by the special House committee investigating executive agencies are probably responsible for the success with which that same committee credits the OPA. The committee praises the OPA for doing an effective job but criticizes it for adopting rules which conflict with state law, interfering with contracts and leases signed before the Federal Rent Control Law went into effect, and setting aside state and local eviction laws. It is hard to see how the OPA could possibly have done a good job of rent regulation without overriding a tangled mass of state and local legislation enacted for normal times. The committee which made the investigation was headed by Representative Howard W. Smith of Virginia, and it was expected to discredit New Deal agencies. That it had no harsher criticism to offer of the OPA is an unexpected and impressive compliment to the OPA's success in an area where regulation is extremely difficult.

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THE PRESIDENT'S REORGANIZED COMMITTEE on Fair Employment Practices seems to be getting off to a good start under its chairman, Monsignor Francis J. Haas of Catholic University. It has ordered the reinstatement of 300 Negro workers in West Coast shipyards discharged under a closed-shop agreement when they refused to pay dues to a separate "auxiliary" union set up for them by the American Federation of Labor boiler-makers' union. The committee must decide whether establishment of a separate union based on color, race, or creed constitutes discrimination. We certainly think it does, and the committee cannot hold otherwise without losing public confidence. The new committee has also voted to enforce the old FEPC order to the Capital Transit Company

in Washington. Capital Transit still refuses to hire Negro help, although many transit companies in Southern cities do so. Nothing has caused more bitterness among Negroes in the capital than this refusal to permit them, in the midst of a great man-power shortage, to enjoy the privilege—for such it seems to be considered—of driving a bus.

How to Use a Revolution

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THE current flows with formidable speed. Hardly twenty-four hours after the downfall of Mussolini, the very elements which had eliminated him from the political scene were themselves on the edge of disaster. The first cries of joy which greeted Victor Emmanuel were not so much a "Long Live the King" as "Death to Mussolini," and as soon as Mussolini was out of the way popular conscience turned against those who had shared his rule and the responsibility for his crimes. The demand for a new political order blended with the cries of the Italian crowds for peace.

Those crowds had been waiting, much more alive than some people thought or desired. For those who have believed in the existence of the people of Europe and who have given more importance to their reactions than to the intrigues of appeasers in London and Washington, the strength which the Italian crowds, supported in some places by the army, have manifested in Milan and other cities has not been a surprise. Our anti-Fascist Italian friends have been right all along in insisting that the people of Italy were not only against the war but also, and primarily, against the regime. Nor was their antagonism just a vague emotion. They have succeeded in organizing, despite Fascist terror and Gestapo vigilance. The underground has existed even though the people who conduct the war for the United Nations have evidenced not the slightest inclination to aid in its development. Without the presence of an illegal movement many of the political events we are witnessing in Italy would never have occurred.

Once more, sharper and clearer than ever before, a line is drawn between those who consider this war a war against fascism and those who consider it a war to destroy the group of powers responsible for aggression. Even in the speeches of Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt the happenings in Italy were treated with more concern for military than political considerations. If, in the last year, Churchill had felt the same hatred against fascism as a system of terror as he felt against the German desire for world domination, his speech would have been different. His incomparable eloquence would have given him words to mark forever the downfall of the first pillar of Fascist power. But he

has never felt both things with equal force. Even in the midst of the war he limited the political problem of Italy to the elimination of "one man."

No one forgets that we are at war. No one denies that our first problem is to win the war. But it is quite possible to harmonize the demands of military strategy with the principles for which we are officially fighting. Indeed, according to our concept, to handle intelligently this major political defeat of the Axis is to help win the war. To take full advantage of the collapse of Italian fascism, to galvanize the peoples of Europe into action on our side is even from the military point of view a move of first importance. Ordinary Europeans, suffering under a combination of war and tyranny, must think sometimes that in the higher spheres of the United Nations are men who don't know what they want. Constantly the people are asked by Allied leaders to rebel against their Nazi and Fascist oppressors. But when the hour for revolt strikes, they find those same leaders busy offering terms to the men they have learned to hate and distrust, while they, the people, are urged to keep order at all costs.

When Mr. Churchill complains in his speech that the totalitarian system has left the broad masses "without any influence upon their country's destinies and without any independent figures apart from the official classes," he is profoundly unfair to the anti-Fascist elements, especially outside Italy, who have kept the confidence of the Italian people. In his statement to the *New York Times* of July 30 Count Sforza, proposing an immediate drive led by "pure Italians" who have never compromised with fascism, attacks the problem at its root. He does not limit himself to proposals that Italy be taken out of the present world struggle and left as a lost island in the midst of the gigantic ideological conflict. He asserts that if a government "morally respected by all were to put the rich accomplices of fascism on trial immediately, seriously promise generous agrarian reforms, and impose complete tranquillity on the country, it would obtain public support for a proclamation of war against Nazism." This conception is absolutely correct. Furthermore, he warns, "Allied public opinion could make no worse mistake than showing itself afraid of the so-called danger of revolution. This fear was the best ally of Hitler and Mussolini during the many years of Chamberlain blindness. It might be fatal to repeat it now."

Sforza and his militant anti-Fascist supporters, in and out of Italy, have a policy that would have made it unnecessary to improvise political solutions during these recent days. It is not true that the only immediate alternatives to Mussolini are the King and Badoglio, and that therefore, for the sake of expediency, the United Nations are obliged to deal with them. What is true is that the United Nations were not politically prepared for any democratic action in Italy. In spite of official denials, it is hard to imagine that with the Germans in the country

and the Fascist Party still in power, the King and Badoglio, on Sunday, July 25, would have had the courage to oust Mussolini if there had not been certain conversations between them and the Allied governments. Negotiations had undoubtedly been going on, but the people who were not approached and whose efforts were not utilized were the real democratic elements of Italy.

It is late, but there is still time for action. Count Sforza asks for action by "pure Italians." His demand should be met immediately. If it is not, the Italian case will furnish definite proof that the only policy of the western allies in regard to Europe is Darlanism, military expediency, even to the point of betraying democracy.

History Unrecognized

ON THIS side of the Atlantic interest in the collapse of *fascismo* has centered strangely on an inept broadcast which was quickly and officially damned for the wrong reasons. In a perfectly understandable zeal to head off another Darlan episode, the Office of War Information rushed to the microphone to tell the world that the overthrow of Mussolini "changes nothing," that "while the news of Mussolini's resignation is welcome to Americans, it is not regarded here as an event of great importance."

Here was a misreading of history in the grand manner. It should have been possible for the OWI to belittle the anti-Fascist pretensions of King Victor Emmanuel and Marshal Badoglio without at the same time belittling the greatest political event of the war to date. How else are we to describe a development which in one week brought in its train the liquidation of the Fascist Party with all its trappings, the flight, arrest, suicide, or assassination of many of its leaders, the joyous emergence of Italy's underground into the streets of its cities, panicky consultations in every satellite capital, and gloomy foreboding in the Third Reich? Clearly the OWI let slip an occasion for swamping the enemy with a propaganda barrage of heroic proportions.

But if the OWI missed the bus, what are we to say of the President's rebuke? The OWI was taken to task not for its failure to herald to the conquered peoples the beginning of the end of fascism, but because it called Victor Emmanuel "the moronic little king" and Badoglio "a high-ranking Fascist." Since when have epithets directed at our enemies called for Presidential censure? Or has the disappearance of Mussolini by some subtle chemistry already converted the House of Savoy from enemy to friend? Looking toward the day when we invite the unconditional surrender of Japan, are we to grow month by month more respectful of Hirohito?

These are questions which the President's speech left disappointingly unanswered. We were delighted to hear

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him repeat the pledge that "we will have no truck with fascism in any way, in any shape or manner," but if the men who invited fascism to take power are not to be regarded as Fascists, nor those who shored it up, led its wars, utilized its techniques, and accepted its rewards, what does the President mean when he promises that "we will permit no vestige of fascism to remain"?

Of course the public spanking suffered by the OWI was grist to the mill of the State Department's doughty champions in the correspondents' corps. Most brazen performance of the week was Arthur Krock's "straight" news story in the *New York Times* which cited "the high official view" that the New York short-wave department of the OWI "deliberately and constantly borrows" from "journalistic sources—otherwise undistinguished—which have opposed the President's Vichy and North African policies," and that it does so in order "to discredit the authorized foreign policy of the United States government, or to reshape it according to the personal and ideological preference of Communists and their fellow-travelers in this country." All of which merely shows that Mr. Krock's layer of unctuousness has worn thin; he can be crude as well as misleading.

Like the OWI, the President too seems to have lost his sense of history. The downfall of Mussolini was the occasion for a great speech, a speech that would put before the world the picture of fascism as the futile crime it is, as a movement which in twenty-two years so far failed to impress its charms on the public mind that with the slightest lifting of the lid the country seethes and Fascist leaders who can't scurry fast enough are hanged in the public square.

The President didn't go into these matters, and in consequence his message to the people seemed curiously flat for the occasion. His failure to clarify the government's attitude toward the King and Badoglio, his rebuke of the OWI, and General Eisenhower's tribute to the House of Savoy have already provoked the beginning of what Mr. Krock fearfully calls "a repetition of the American backfire on Darlan and Giraud." This time, thanks to the warning afforded by the North African experience, the backfire may be loud enough and timely enough to forestall a tragic blunder.

F.D.R. on the Defensive

ON DOMESTIC issues as on foreign policy the President's radio broadcast was uninspired and uninspiring. It reflected a defensive and compromising spirit, and we take what comfort we can from the fact that the President does not seem his usual self when forced into these attitudes. We enjoy the President most, and he seems to like himself best, when he can take the offensive on social issues and chart a bold course. In this

present mood he has succeeded in charming the conservative press, but we doubt whether he will thrill common men in or out of the armed services as he has in the past.

The President's explanation of the need for rationing comes several months too late. We wish he had made it earlier. He has a great capacity for leadership, and there would be a good deal less confusion on the home front if he could take time to explain more of these complicated issues to the people. No one else can do it with the same authority. Unfortunately even here he was on the defensive, calling for sacrifice while announcing the end of coffee rationing. There was little indication that the President is prepared to take the offensive on the inflation front and roll back the price of foodstuffs on a wide scale. Nothing could make him more popular, but if he doesn't act soon Congress will be back in session and it may be too late.

We note with interest the President's new program of aid to soldiers in demobilization, and we approve the measures he outlines. He offers mustering-out pay, unemployment insurance if no job can be found, an opportunity for further education at public expense, credit to all members of the armed services for social-security payments during the period in uniform, better hospitalization, rehabilitation, and medical care, and "sufficient pensions." This is no more than justice demands, and it is good political medicine for the New Deal.

"I have assured our men in the armed forces," the President said, "that the American people would not let them down when the war is won." That is an important pledge. But we hope the President will not succumb, in a period of reaction and retreat, to the view that mustering-out pay and other palliatives amply fulfil that pledge. The real promise on which the men in the services and the folks at home depend is full employment for everyone. That way alone lies protection for the Four Freedoms.

The President says he has plans ready for the new Congress. We hope those plans look toward the implementation of that broader promise. But it will take more willingness to fight reaction within and without the Democratic Party than the President has shown in recent months. Perhaps the key question here is what will be done with the vastly expanding production facilities now owned by the government. If these are turned to peacetime use, whether under public or private ownership, the resultant fall in prices and production costs, the enlarged employment opportunities, and the additional real wealth will be sufficient to insure against a new depression. But if the President permits Jesse Jones to dispose of them to monopoly for dismantling, as seems likely at the moment, we shall return to a regime of scarcity. Full employment will become another blasted hope on which post-war fascist demagogues will thrive.

How Washington Reacted

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, July 29

WASHINGTON'S reaction to the fall of Mussolini was curiously apathetic. Secretary Hull appeared nervous lest he say the wrong thing at Monday's press conference, and afterward the press attachés even asked me—and I am not the most popular of correspondents at the State Department—how I liked the conference. There was an unusually large turnout to hear what the Secretary of State of the world's foremost democratic power would have to say of the fall of the world's first Fascist dictator. Perhaps the most significant observation that can be made on the conference is that Hull seemed ill at ease.

Kingsbury Smith, the Hearst I. N. S. correspondent, who looks like an Italian count but is said to hail from Missouri, took his accustomed place in the front row and opened with the prescribed question: Did the Secretary of State care to make any comments on developments in Italy? Secretary Hull replied that he had long been convinced that fascism carries within it the seeds of its own destruction. The very timely and appropriate ending of Mussolini, he thought—direct quotation is permitted only by special permission and on special occasions—was the first major step in the early and complete destruction and eradication of every vestige of fascism, both nationally and internationally.

If any unusual activity is going on in the State Department as a result of the fall of Mussolini, it is being kept well hidden from the press. There is a Mr. Jones in charge of the Italian "desk" who reports to a new acting chief of the European division whose name I have mislaid. This new chief in turn is subordinate to James Clement Dunn, the department's political adviser for Western Europe and leader of the pro-Franco faction during the Spanish war and since. Over Dunn is Assistant Secretary Breckinridge Long, once our ambassador to Rome and an admirer of Mussolini. Attempts to talk with these officials were courteously discouraged.

In its feuds with newer agencies of the government the State Department insists that it should determine all questions of foreign policy. But when questions of foreign policy are put to it, correspondents are referred to the White House or the War Department or told to keep their minds on the war. Monday's press conference was typical. Secretary Hull was asked whether the government considers the House of Savoy a faction or a former faction of the Fascist authorities. This question—not asked by this correspondent—seemed to all of us a political question and one properly asked of the Secretary

of State. Hull's answer was that he didn't know the attitude of the military and naval branches of the government on that question. Naturally, the Secretary continued, the war being still in progress in Italy, so far as the State Department is concerned, it simply had not come to that question. I report that reply as exactly as the rule against quotation marks permits. Is the State Department marking time until the war is over?

This same question seems to have bothered others. Harold Callender of the *New York Times* asked whether there was a danger that victory might come before we were prepared in a diplomatic and political sense. Hull's answer to this was, "Sufficient unto the day. . . ." He looked pleased with himself, as he did at his answer to the next question. Mr. Secretary, he was asked, what is our government doing, if anything, as a result of the developments in Rome yesterday? The answer was—permission to quote directly was later granted—"They are fighting like the devil." Keep your mind on that, Hull added, and we will win the war sooner.

Hull held on to the chair in front of him, blinked his eyes as though the light was too strong for them, occasionally lifted them to look at whatever correspondent asked a question, and spoke in a low, monotonous voice those present found it difficult to hear. (I checked all this with the transcript afterward.) He has a slight speech defect, almost a lisp. Unlike some old men, there is no youth in his eyes, and the fall of Mussolini does not seem to have affected his blood pressure. He said that there was no truth in reports that we had made contact with Badoglio, and that he had heard of no contact with the Vatican in connection with the change in the Italian government. When asked whether unconditional surrender applied also to other Axis allies—Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria—he referred the question to the War Department but ventured that the question would certainly be raised against any and all countries that have declared war at any time against the United States. When asked whether that applied to Finland, Hull said Finland was a marginal case. How the State Department loves little Finland!

Correspondents had to keep reminding themselves that the fall of Mussolini was an event. The President at his press conference Tuesday was casual, and when asked his reaction to the resignation of Il Duce, said he never had any reactions and that he was too old to have them. Since Mr. Roosevelt is one of those men who never really grow up—I mean this as a compliment—it seemed odd that the fall of fascism should leave him in so

senescent a mood. He showed emotion only in denouncing the Sunday-night short-wave broadcast in which the OWI called Badoglio a "high-ranking Fascist" and quoted Samuel Grafton's characterization of Victor Emmanuel as "the moronic little king." I think it cause for disquiet that the warmest Administration reaction to the fall of Mussolini was an attack by the President on a distinguished anti-fascist columnist for the pro-New Deal New York *Post*.

The Administration is making some strange friends these days. Last Monday Cissie Patterson's editor, Frank Waldrop, took this correspondent to task for criticizing the President so severely last week. The Hearst-Patterson-McCormick press and Arthur Krock warmed up to the attack on the OWI and Grafton. Krock accused Grafton of following an "'ideology' that conforms much more closely to the Moscow than to the Washington-London line," although, as Victor Bernstein pointed out in *PM*, the *Times* the day before had editorially taken much the same line as Grafton toward the Badoglio government, calling it a "military dictatorship" trying by martial law "to protect the Fascist gangsters."

The whole affair has pleased the State Department greatly, for it has put the President in the position of fighting those who have been consistently critical of State Department policy. I am inclined to believe that we have been wrong to characterize it as State Department policy. "Off the record" information I am not privileged to reveal at this time leads me to conclude that the whole North African and French policies are the President's as much as the State Department's, if not more so. While there is a strong faction in the State Department which favors recognition of the French National Committee, as does the British government, the President is said to be strongly opposed. Incredible though it sounds, informed people whom I trust say that one reason for this is that the President still thinks another deal with Pétain may yet be possible and is prepared even to make a deal with Laval, if anything can be obtained from him.

French policy is made more, not less, important by Italian developments. For our military strategy would seem to call but for the encirclement of Italy. The idea would be to strike across southern Italy and northward into the Balkans with one arm of the offensive, while the other moves up through Sardinia and Corsica to Marseilles and up the Rhone Valley to Alsace. Since these are the obvious avenues of assault, I am revealing geography, not military secrets. The French underground should play an important part in that program, but from all indications the Administration seems unwilling to collaborate with popular forces. The ultra-conservative New York *Sun* in an editorial yesterday bluntly expressed what many officials here would be afraid to say publicly but are none the less acting on privately. The *Sun* said that what American and Eng-

land were concerned with at the moment was "the prevention of anarchy in Italy," which I take to be a synonym for social revolution. The *Sun* found it "unpleasant to reflect" that the French National Committee "may have given undue weight to the unfortunate phrase that we are fighting to liberate the occupied countries."

Franklin D. Roosevelt is heading straight for a situation which may some day make the Four Freedoms seem as much a mockery to the common people of the world as the Fourteen Points. At home the State Department has obtained greater control of both economic warfare and the Lehman relief organization. Both can be used to give support to a Badoglio government, if it lasts long enough for that. The significance of the Grafton incident is that the President's attitude is giving the State Department the control it has long sought over the OWI's foreign broadcasts. Incidentally, Mayor LaGuardia should also be rebuked by the President, for he too warned the Italian people Sunday night not to be deceived by the substitution of Badoglio for Mussolini.

The situation abroad parallels the situation at home. The London *New Statesman and Nation* last week protested against the appointment of Lord Rennell of Rodd as chief civilian aide to General Sir Harold Alexander in charge of Amgot. Lord Rennell was criticized as a financier, a member of the Oxford group, and a former friend of Volpi. He was general manager, so I am informed, of the Bank of International Settlements—that stratospheric refuge of high finance above the clamor of an anti-fascist struggle—and was a partner in Morgan, Grenfell, the London affiliate of J. P. Morgan and Company. Morgan loans and the Vatican blessing were two of the principal supports of the Fascist regime. Given Lord Rennell at the top and the use of Fascist officials at the bottom, Amgot would seem an ideal vehicle for restoring exactly the kind of Italy which bred fascism.

Amgot's sway, according to present plans here, is to be extended over all of occupied Europe. The Nazi radio in France is already making use of this to dispirit the underground. I am beginning to feel that while we are ready to make deals with any of the crooks at the top except the full-fledged, fully labeled Nazis and Fascists, we are out to demand "unconditional surrender" of the peoples of Europe to what must begin to seem to them Anglo-American imperialism. The Europe that Amgot would restore is not a Europe in which the Four Freedoms could be achieved. The most dangerous development of all is that while Amgot was launched without consulting Moscow, Moscow has since launched a National Committee for a Free Germany without consulting London and Washington. If the present drift is allowed to continue, and without strong public pressure it will, Moscow will be supporting democratic regimes while we sponsor a revival of monarchy and reaction. That way, plain for all to see, lies World War III.

Lend-Lease Works Both Ways

BY ALAN BARTH

THE American Expeditionary Force is an expensive house guest. For over a year the British have been entertaining a substantial and steadily growing contingent. So have the Australians and the New Zealanders. If United States troops abroad had to be fed and equipped entirely from their home bases, our shipping problem would be genuinely insuperable. Fortunately, in large part they live off the land where they are stationed. Much of their subsistence and many of their weapons are provided gratis by their hosts. This is an aspect of the lend-lease program which is never mentioned by American politicians when they attack the Administration for so lavishly distributing the nation's treasure.

In the last war we supplied our overseas army by purchasing its requirements from our allies for cash. In this war the procedure is simply to state that a need exists; our allies meet it as best they can by lend-leasing supplies to us. "The principle of mutual aid," this was termed at a recent Congressional hearing by the Lend-Lease Administrator, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. "In all parts of the world," observed Mr. Stettinius, "—the United Kingdom, Russia, Australia, China, New Zealand, New Caledonia, Fiji, Iceland, India, the Belgian Congo, North Africa, British East and South Africa, Iran, Iraq, Syria, the Caribbean—American military and naval forces and our merchant marine have received every type of available commodity or service which could satisfy their needs. While the flow of lend-lease goods going abroad has steadily increased, reciprocal benefits from our allies, also granted without payment, have grown steadily."

A catalogue of these reciprocal benefits would be instructive. It would afford a view of the complexity of the task of provisioning an expeditionary force. Our air forces in England, for example, have received from the British meteorological equipment, hangars, defrosting and de-icing devices, parachutes, tires, and protective armor—not to speak of 675 planes and numerous landing fields. On the eve of the invasion of North Africa in November it was discovered almost at the last minute that the radio equipment on our planes, which worked well enough in England, was not suited to African conditions. The R. A. F. at once stripped its own ships of radio transmitting and receiving sets and installed them in American fighters and bombers. This meant, for a time at least, that many British pilots were flying the Channel without benefit of radio. The ruling consideration was strategic need. Since weapons have been largely

internationalized, the same consideration has influenced allotments on every front. The principle of mutual aid has been welding the heterogeneous forces of the United Nations into a genuine global army.

Our engineer corps in England has been furnished aerodrome construction materials, locomotives, rails, road-building and repair equipment, and most of the tools and supplies needed in its work—asphalt, lumber, pile drivers, wire, cement, coal. Our Quartermaster Corps has received clothing and blankets, bakeries and laundries, desks and office space, warehouses, furniture, recreational equipment. The Transportation Corps has been given various types of harbor, assault, and combat boats. The Signal Corps has been supplied with telephones, batteries, cable, radios, transformers, and photographic materials.

But these items, plucked more or less at random from lend-lease files, constitute only a portion of the aid given American forces abroad. From 12,000 to 25,000 British civilians, paid by the British government, serve our army directly. The British have turned over to us and are maintaining thirteen completely equipped hotels, with their staffs, as residences for our officers. In the Middle East the British have supplied American forces with local currency with which to purchase material and labor; they did this not because of any specific commitment but simply because when our troops went into the area, the British were better able to obtain the currency than we. Our initial landing force in North Africa received from the British more than 3,800 tons of ammunition, enough artillery for an entire division, some 80,000 tons of coal, 2,000 tons of British rations, medical maintenance units for hundreds of thousands of men, and about 30,000 tons of engineering equipment. Consider what this meant to our greatly overtaxed shipping facilities.

Other countries which are recipients of American lend-lease aid have displayed equal readiness to reciprocate. During 1942 Australia supplied American forces in the South and Southwest Pacific with the bulk of the foodstuffs they required on a ration scale comparable to the basic allowance of the American army. This meant that for a number of months civilians in the continent down under went without potatoes, citrus fruits, pork products, and other staples of their diet. New Zealand, a land of fewer than 2,000,000 people, contributed to our forces quartered there all kinds of foodstuffs and sizable quantities of clothing. Even the Fiji Islanders have done

their part, providing our men with more than \$5,500 worth of ice cream.

The Lend-Lease Administration keeps a master set of books on the goods given to and received from our allies. But values are not reckoned entirely in dollars for the simple reason that this would be an impossible accounting job. The Army Engineer Corps once estimated that if we attempted to keep running accounts in dollars for everything received by the American forces in England, half a division of men would be required for the purpose. And of course many of the dollar valuations would be arbitrary and virtually meaningless. Indeed, any attempt to evaluate lend-lease on a strictly monetary basis is to miss its significance altogether. For what counts in war is use value, not money value.

On what basis, for example, could we calculate the value of British airfields, barracks, and other facilities constructed for the use of American forces? These have cost the British government more than \$600,000,000, not counting the value of the land. But no one knows how long we shall use them. We can, if we like, enter ordinary gasoline on the books at the current market price. But who can tell the worth of high-octane gas? It has no market save for war purposes.

Even the dollar valuation of our own lend-lease shipments is largely fictional. In his last report on the subject

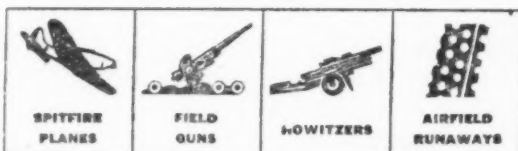
the President declared that up to April 30, 1943, the value of our lend-lease aid to our allies totaled \$11,102,000,000. But the figure represents merely a cost price in a controlled market. It may be conjectured, indeed, that the dollar valuation is made public precisely because it is meaningless and can therefore give no information to the enemy. When, in a time of desperate urgency, we transferred fifty destroyers to Great Britain, we reckoned their price not in dollars but in terms of leases of certain air and naval bases in the Atlantic.

By taking the budgetary appropriations for lend-lease purposes, it is possible to estimate roughly the per capita costs of lend-lease to some of the United Nations—a far more equitable basis for comparison than overall figures on expenditures. But in view of the wide differences that exist in costs of production, the figures should be regarded as only crude approximations of the actual contributions to the lend-lease pool. American lend-lease expenditures for the year 1942, excluding "services," were \$35.49 per capita, or at the rate of about \$2.96 a month. In January of this year they were \$3.80 per capita and by March had gone up to \$5.41. Australia's budget estimate for aid to us works out to \$24.80 per capita for the year ending June, 1943—\$2.07 a month. In January expenditures were \$2.43 per capita. Canada is making a per capita contribution of \$79.69 yearly, or

RECIPROCAL AID THROUGH LEND-LEASE (1942)



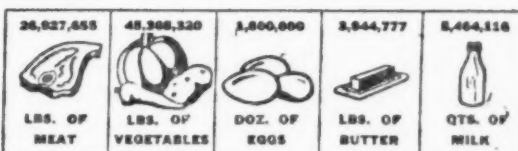
FROM GREAT BRITAIN



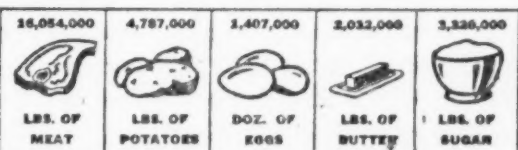
**38,000,000 LBS.
OF FRESH FOOD**



FROM AUSTRALIA



FROM NEW ZEALAND



FROM OTHER AREAS:

AMERICAN FORCES ARE RECEIVING "RECIPROCAL" AID IN NEW CALEDONIA, INDIA, SOUTH AFRICA, EGYPT, NORTH AFRICA, THE MIDDLE EAST, THE FIJI ISLANDS, AND IN ICELAND WHENEVER SUPPLIES AND SERVICE CAN BE PROVIDED LOCALLY.

\$6.64 monthly. New Zealand's share amounts to approximately \$3.30 per capita a month. So large a portion of British aid to Russia and to the United States is in the form of incalculable benefits and services that no dollar evaluation can be attempted.

It is important to remember that a nation's ability to contribute to mutual aid depends on two factors: (1) the degree of its industrial development and its wealth in natural resources; (2) the extent to which it is actually fighting the enemy. The contributions of Russia and China do not loom large on the books of lend-lease; their share in the United Nations effort is written in blood. The United States, on the other hand, with its enormous industrial capacity and its comparative immunity from the ravages of war, will have an outstanding, though by no means unrivaled, claim to the title "arsenal of democracy." Each of the United Nations will have given in accordance with its ability.

When the time comes for balancing the books, it would seem elementary common sense to rule out of consideration all the goods consumed in warfare. It does not much matter whether the bombs and bullets turned out by American factories were in Russian, British, Chinese, or American hands so long as they were used effectively. If we gave our allies more of these than we received from them, it may indicate merely that they were on the firing line longer and in greater numbers. Only the durable goods left when the fighting ends can reasonably be taken into account. The disposition made of them must conform to the spirit of the master lend-lease agreements which have been negotiated with some of our allies. These provide that the terms and conditions of lend-lease settlement "shall be such as not to burden commerce between the two countries but to promote mutually advantageous economic relations between them and the betterment of worldwide economic relations." If machine tools which we have shipped abroad are needed for the reconstruction of countries which have borne the brunt of the war, it would be folly for us to demand that they be returned to us at once or paid for in cash. It is essential that no part of lend-lease should at any time be considered a debt. But it will be possible, in the international settlements and adjustments which must follow the war, to take into account, reasonably and generously, the peace-time value of the permanent installations which we and other nations have put into the common pool as contributions toward victory.

The spirit that has animated lend-lease on our part and on the part of our allies is a hopeful augury. There has been nothing like it before in the history of mankind. The peoples of many nations have joined hands and contributed their possessions unstintingly for the attainment of a common goal. Men capable of viewing self-interest with this degree of enlightenment are not incapable of building a genuinely free world.

50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

IT HAS LONG BEEN our contention that metropolitan journalism has tended more and more to put itself upon a mercenary basis, pure and simple. For believing and saying this . . . we have been accused of ill-natured jealousy and many other unpleasant qualities. . . . Now, no one will suspect Mr. J. W. Keller of the *Recorder* . . . of having his vision blurred by prejudice or fantastic ideals, and it is he who declares in the *Forum* that "the fundamental principle of metropolitan journalism today is to buy white paper at three cents a pound and sell it at ten cents a pound." He adds with equal truth: "In some quarters it does not matter how much the virgin whiteness of the paper is defiled, so long as the defilement sells the paper."—August 3, 1893.

THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES of the University of Alabama have resolved that "young women of not less than eighteen years of age, of good character and antecedents, who are able to stand the necessary examinations, be admitted to the sophomore class or any higher class of the university, provided that suitable homes and protection have been provided for them, under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the president in consultation with the faculty." This action has met with such unqualified general approval that the faculty is not expected to make any invidious distinction on account of sex.—August 3, 1893.

THE COMPLETE CANVASS of the vote cast in the recent elections of Germany leaves the Social Democrats in the lead with about 1,700,000 votes, a gain of some 300,000. . . . The Center Party come next, casting in round numbers 1,200,000 votes. Then come the Conservatives with 980,000, . . . and the National Liberals with 960,000. . . . The anti-Semitic vote took on enormous proportions, amounting to 340,000, a gain of 300,000.—August 10, 1893.

THERE IS a Whistler "cult" in Paris at the present time, and it is the fashion to accept all that he paints or has painted as the last word in what is worth doing in art.—August 10, 1893.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK: Remsburg, J. B., "Was Lincoln a Christian?" Truth Seeker Co., 50 cents.—August 10, 1893. . . . James, Henry, "The Private Life, and Other Stories," Harpers, \$1.—August 24, 1893.

THE ACTION of the Republican state convention in Iowa last week assures the repeal of the Prohibitory Law by the legislature which is to be chosen in November. It is now about a dozen years since the Republicans in that state took up prohibition as an issue, and they have had enough of it.—August 24, 1893.

THE RESULT of the French elections was a foregone conclusion. . . . The royalist faction appears to have been nearly extinguished and the question as to the form of government definitely answered. Henceforth the problem to be solved is not whether there shall be a republic, but what kind of a republic there shall be.—August 24, 1893.

Denmark Next?

BY JOACHIM JOESTEN

THE Second Battle for Scandinavia seems about to begin. Swedish newspapers, which keep their ears close to the ground and have often accurately forecast events affecting Northern Europe, have commented with some excitement on Secretary of War Stimson's trip to Iceland prior to his arrival in Britain. The *Svenska Dagbladet* expressed doubts that the Secretary's inspection of American troops in Iceland was made for *defensive* purposes. The *Social-Demokraten*, a government paper, said in an editorial on July 13: "The inspection of American troops in Iceland may indicate that their long period of idleness will soon be ended. There is slight probability that they will be used in a distant theater of operations. The considerably increased preparedness in our country is evidence that Swedish political and military authorities are prepared for the storm likely to break round the corner—'before the leaves fall.'" Another paper, whose policy is on the whole pro-German, *Nya Dagligt Allehanda*, was even more specific: ". . . Sweden's situation is now perhaps more dangerous than at any time since the invasion of Scandinavia. Allied attacks through Norway and through Denmark are far from improbable. It is obvious what dangers and difficulties this would bring to us."*

Similar worried hints were rife in the Swedish press a few weeks before Hitler attacked Russia in June, 1941. Although they were largely discounted abroad as German propaganda plants, or as sensationalism, they were subsequently borne out by events. The Swedish intelligence service, although it has never been played up like similar institutions in other countries, works smoothly and efficiently among all belligerent nations.

Not only the Swedish press fears an early resumption of hostilities in Northern Europe; the Swedish government itself is feverishly preparing for such a contingency—at a moment when outwardly everything is quieter in that part of the world than it has been for a long time. Swedish reservists have been called up uninterruptedly since late spring. It has been officially announced that military maneuvers, which are usually discontinued in the summer months, will go on this year on the same large scale as in the past winter and spring. Traditional sports events have been canceled "for military reasons." More than two million copies of an outspoken booklet, "If War Comes," issued by the Board of Information and telling the population exactly what to do in any given emergency, are being distributed. Several recent

press dispatches from Stockholm have strongly hinted at a coming change in Swedish foreign policy.

This preparedness on Sweden's part is matched by frantic German preparations along the Atlantic coast of Scandinavia and even in the Baltic. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Germany's precautions is the fact that their center is slowly but steadily shifting from Norway to Denmark. An Allied invasion of Norway has long been anticipated on all sides, but hitherto speculation on coming war moves has usually overlooked Denmark. Actually, according to the most recent information from Swedish sources, the Germans now maintain a larger army of occupation—estimated at 200,000—in Denmark than in Norway, where, though the country is much bigger, only ten divisions, or a maximum of 150,000 men, are said to be stationed.

Germany's present preoccupation with Denmark indicates either that the Nazi high command has already written off Norway as untenable against a combined onslaught of Allied armies from the west and the east and is preparing a withdrawal to Denmark as an integral part of the "inner fortress" of Europe, or that it fears the Allies may by-pass Norway and, landing on Danish shores, make straight for the heart of Germany—a strategy which Winston Churchill is said to have favored even in the last war. Whatever the motive, German defensive preparations in Denmark have been recently stepped up and extended. Jutland today is a military camp from which all Danish armed forces have been evacuated and which civilians may enter only on special permits. The shallow coast bristles with barbed-wire fences, gun emplacements, and mine fields; whole "military towns" have been built at strategic points, and "anti-invasion centers" have been organized.

North of Esbjerg, the only important harbor on Denmark's west coast, a broad belt of five connecting land-mine fields has been laid out along the coast, the mines so arranged that they can be exploded simultaneously. This led recently to a grave accident, caused perhaps by sabotage, in which 122 people were killed, half of them Danish slave laborers.

Except for the fact that it is protected by three dangerous reefs, the Danish west coast is well suited for amphibious landing operations such as were carried out in southern Sicily. Other parts of the country are equally vulnerable, and the Germans are apparently taking no chances. According to latest reports, the island of Zealand, where the capital is situated, is also being heav-

* The quoted passages are cited in *News from Sweden* of July 14.

ily fortified, even along the east coast facing Sweden.

Other occurrences in Denmark betray the conquerors' anxiety. The Rigsdag recently passed a law authorizing the government to confiscate land for defense purposes; the unavowed object of this measure was to give the Germans a free hand in converting the "Danish Riviera"—the coastal strip from Copenhagen northward to Elsinore—into a fortified zone. The Danish Minister of Justice, Thune Jacobsen, has issued new and drastic regulations authorizing the police force to fire without warning on any person suspected of sabotage. And the Danish police have been equipped for their new duties with rifles, machine-guns, and tear-gas pistols. In connection with this order a Rigsdag member, Robert Staermose, publicly protested on June 25 against the use of the Danish police to relieve the occupying power of such purely military tasks as guarding the coast and the railways. Incidentally, since the occupation the Danish police force has been increased from 3,205 to 8,021 men.

The possibility of an Allied counter-invasion that would turn Denmark into a battlefield lies heavy on Danish minds. Even the press manages occasionally, in spite of the tight censorship, to express its apprehensions. Thus the leading Conservative daily, the *Berlingske Tidende*, said recently: "Denmark, because of its location and traffic connections, could be used as a springboard to the Baltic coast of Germany, the most vulnerable point in Central Europe. . . . Its possession may be vital to an assault on Central Europe. We know that the Allied powers are making great preparations for an attack on the Continent. It can be launched through the

Mediterranean or across the Channel, but *Denmark is a third possibility*" (my italics). The Copenhagen *Socialdemokraten* of May 25 said that preparations were being made to evacuate 150,000 people from the capital in an emergency. And the Chief of Civilian Defense at Aalborg has warned the population that they may soon have to spend several days in their cellars. The unprecedented bombing of Hamburg in the last few days also points to activity in the north. Hamburg is the hub of all communication lines into Denmark.

From these and many other signs a great blow appears imminent somewhere in Northern Europe. Whether it will be an all-out blow at Germany proper through the Danish bulwark or a strategic offensive in Norway for limited purposes, time alone can tell. Perhaps the Allies can even muster enough strength in the northern theater of operations to strike at both these Nazi-held countries at the same time. In any event Sweden is likely to experience a severe test of its neutrality. If it continues to grant Germany transit facilities to meet an Allied invasion of Norway, it may find itself at war with the Allies; if it stops this traffic, it may have to fight Germany.

Latest reports suggest that Sweden at last has found itself. The "change of foreign policy" hinted at in the press can only mean a shift toward the Allies. Probably the transit concession granted Germany three years ago will be withdrawn. There is a rumor that Foreign Minister Christian Günther and his pro-German colleague, Minister of Justice Karl Gustav Westman, will soon be dropped from the Cabinet. If this happens, we can be fairly sure that Sweden will not become an enemy.

The Chemical Revolution

BY FRANCIS WESTBROOK, JR.

MUCH has been written about the industrial wonders achieved in war-time America and the benefits they will bestow upon society after the peace. It does not detract from the accomplishments to point out that some of them will also cause severe dislocations here and abroad. Though one group or country may gain immeasurably, another may be the loser.

Our huge synthetic-rubber capacity promises to cause trouble. William M. Jeffers predicts that in 1944 we shall produce 850,000 long tons, almost three-fourths as much as the entire natural-rubber production of the world in 1939. Before the war rubber was our chief import, costing about \$151,000,000 annually. Next year the picture will be reversed. We shall be supplying the major rubber needs of all our allies.

From a national point of view this is a remarkable

achievement, and it holds great promise for the post-war years. It is still debatable how much of this industry will survive the restoration of world trade, but there are good reasons for believing that most of it will continue to produce. While synthetic rubber as we know it today is probably not so good as natural rubber in some respects, it is better in others. It resists oil, chemicals, and other agents destructive of the natural product. Since synthetic rubber is of several types, it can be "tailored" to specific purposes. And there is good reason to believe that chemists can correct certain weaknesses in the synthetic material.

The total investment in synthetic-rubber factories and auxiliary units probably will be close to one billion dollars by the end of the war. Although about three-fourths of this will represent government money, some of the

largest corporations in the country have a stake in synthetic rubber and will wish to see the industry remain active. Labor, too, will be interested in this source of employment, though one of the startling aspects of the industry is that some 10,000 men in American factories can produce as much as 300,000 natives on Far Eastern plantations. However, opportunities for employment should develop as increasing amounts of raw material are supplied to the rubber mills.

The dark side of the picture appears when one begins to wonder what will happen to the rubber-growing countries of the East, especially British Malaya and the Netherlands Indies, if their chief markets are seriously curtailed or permanently lost. The seriousness of this threat will be apparent to anyone remembering the plight of Chile's nitrate industries after synthetic nitrates were developed during the last war. Except for its tin mining and a little agriculture, British Malaya depends entirely on rubber production. The Netherlands Indies have other important industries, but there too the destruction of the rubber business would be a calamity. Siam, Ceylon, and French Indo-China would also suffer, as well as some regions in Africa and South America.

The threat is so real that it has been seriously proposed in some quarters in this country that in the interest of international trade we should scrap our rubber factories after the war. What the outcome will be no one knows. The course taken will depend on many factors, such as prices, post-war buying by rubber-consuming countries that have not established synthetic industries, the artificial barriers that may be raised, and the stimulants that may be applied. It is not yet known how cheaply we can manufacture synthetic rubber on a mass-production basis. Many believe that eventually we shall be able to produce it cheaply enough to compete with natural rubber at pre-war prices. This raises the question of how cheaply plantation growers will be able to sell.

Some countries will continue to consume natural rubber. Only the United States and Germany, and perhaps a few other European countries, are likely to be in an independent position. The demand, therefore, will not be wiped out at once, though it will be drastically cut. When the nations meet to make peace for the Far East, rubber will be a major subject of discussion. And the natural product will find an eager champion in Great Britain, for the economic welfare of at least one of its important colonies will be at stake.

Silk, too, will cause headaches at the Far Eastern peace table. The use of large amounts of silk by Western textile mills is a thing of the past. A few years ago silk was one of our most valuable imports. In the early thirties rayon drove it from the dress field. Its last stronghold was in hosiery, but after the peace women's stockings will be made of nylon or rayon. In European countries the manufacture of synthetic fibers is, if anything,

more advanced than here. Japan has lost the market for its second most important export. China too will suffer.

This problem, however, has domestic as well as foreign ramifications, for rayon and nylon and the other synthetic fibers that have displaced silk also threaten to cut deep into the demand for cotton and wool. Rayon is being used more and more instead of cotton in automobile tires, which before the war took 10 per cent of all cotton consumed in this country. The new types of rayon developed for war uses will meet most requirements expected of sheets, shirts, work clothes, and many other items; they will be as comfortable and will wash as easily as cotton and in many cases will be stronger. There are indications that rayon will undersell cotton. Nylon, one of the important inventions of recent years, also has a brilliant future, not only for hosiery and clothing but for such diverse articles as rustless window screens, brushes, tennis racquets, and medical sutures.

Many persons believe that wool is more seriously threatened than cotton. Wool is an expensive fiber. And it has certain drawbacks, such as vulnerability to moths and a tendency to shrink in washing. Rayon and other synthetic fibers are free of these handicaps and possess other advantages—great strength, durability, and low cost—which will go a long way to offset wool's real and supposed merits.

Textile fibers today are made of casein, glass, peanuts, soy beans, asbestos, coal, air, and water, and plastics. And whereas formerly we had to take them pretty much as nature made them, today we design fibers specially for fireproof fabrics, carpets, hosiery, and an infinite variety of other materials; we give them tensile strength, resilience, softness, or hardness, as we require.

The resultant displacement of natural fibers may reach serious proportions. Thirteen million people live off cotton in this country alone. Another half-million gain their livelihood from the production of wool. Many of these people must adapt themselves to changed conditions. The wool-grower may have to raise sheep for meat rather than for wool and find other uses for some of his grazing land. The cotton farmer may find it advisable to emphasize the oil and food properties of his crop. Or he can produce cotton for the cellulose content of its lint, which he will sell to rayon and plastics factories instead of to cotton-textile mills.

Another group of developments may cause temporary dislocations in other industries, though in the long run they will stimulate business and bring social and economic gains. Striking advances, for instance, have been made in the fields of light metals, plastics, wood, paper, glass, and steel. By the end of the war we shall be producing seven times as much aluminum as in 1939. The production of magnesium, the lightest of all structural metals, will have increased a hundred-fold. Most of the magnesium is obtained from sea water, by means of huge pumps which

force millions of gallons daily through an intricate chemical process. Since sea water contains traces of every element found on land, this new "mining" technique opens prospects of untold wonders. Huge quantities of aluminum and magnesium will be available at low cost for the manufacture of railway coaches, aircraft, automobiles, houses, boats, and other things requiring lightweight materials.

Resin-impregnated paper board is now manufactured to replace aluminum in airplane wing tips. This board is as strong as aluminum and has the advantage that it can be molded more easily. Paper barrels are displacing steel drums in the shipment of certain chemicals. Strong structural papers are expected to play an important role in low-cost post-war housing, where they can be used for partitions, ceilings, and perhaps walls. Plywood made by a union of plastics and wood has found wide use in airplanes, small boats, and buildings, in some cases as a substitute for structural steel. These developments facilitate the prefabrication of houses.

Plastics are now omnipresent in modern industry. Aircraft made of plastics are an accomplished fact. Some experts believe automobiles will be constructed of them after the war. They will become an important building material. For example, the transparent plastic now used to give free vision coupled with protection to gunners on war planes can be used for non-breakable windows in homes and greenhouses. The variety of plastic materials is endless. And like synthetic rubber and the new synthetic fibers, they can be "tailored" for the job.

Glass manufacturers, too, proclaim that they will provide post-war homes with non-breakable windows. The new strong glass in its various forms is also suitable for walls and partitions, furniture, and bathroom fixtures. Fireproof cloth is woven of glass fibers. Another type of glass is said to be so strong and elastic that it can be used to make springs for watches and clocks.

Meanwhile steel manufacturers are producing alloys so strong and light that they will compete with light metals, plastics, and wood where lightness and strength are important. New alloys with tremendous heat resistance will make possible smaller automobiles and aircraft engines, which will burn less fuel.

These developments will mean great changes in industrial and building practices. The new products will undoubtedly displace many conventional materials, but in the long run both manufacturer and consumer should benefit. Competition will hold prices to a minimum. We shall have a vast new array of materials for the manufacture of articles ranging from airplanes to ice boxes. Because the materials will be plentiful and cheap, consumption should greatly increase. While there will be less wood or glass or steel in any given house or car, so many more houses and cars will be produced that all materials will find larger markets.

In the Wind

A RESTAURANT IN SEATTLE has solved its manpower problem by permitting its customers to wait on themselves, add up their own checks, and ring up their sales on the cash register. The management feels satisfied that there has been no cheating thus far.

THE FALL-WINTER CATALOGUE of Montgomery Ward and Company displays on its cover a beaver fur coat, \$550, and hat to match, \$75. Three years ago the highest-priced fur coat in the catalogue was \$99.50.

IN VIEW of the scarcity of chicle, says *Tide*, chewing gum manufacturers in the United States are welcoming competition by Mexican brands, just to keep the gum-chewing habit alive.

GO JUMP IN THE RIVER. Luise Rainer, packing for a trip from New York to Hollywood, described her mode of travel for the press: "I will jump in every river and eat sausages out of my hand and see the sun come up every morning. Really, that is my ideal of life."

IT SEEMS there is no hope for democracy in Europe after all. The Connecticut Economic Council has thrown in the sponge on that issue. "Many visionary minds," says its bulletin, "are at work upon the problem of extending, after the war is over, our democratic way of life to cover many countries. . . . It is quite impossible that we should attempt to impose our democratic constitution upon Germany, Italy, and the Balkan states. . . . We also recognize the impossibility of our joining in any world federation."

THE KITCHEN OF THE FUTURE, says *Printer's Ink*, will be so arranged that the housewife can be seated most of the time. "It is the defense-work influence."

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD was tripped up by bad timing in one of his recent syndicated newspaper columns. Defending the record of the present Congress, he sneered at "the Roosevelt-adoring *Nation*." That was the week *The Nation* carried an article denouncing Roosevelt's betrayal of Wallace and an editorial paragraph saying that "political appeasement is the President's own guiding directive."

FESTUNG EUROPA: The Nazi pastors and bishops of Norway have written to Vidkun Quisling requesting him to make Norwegians attend church. "Most of us preach Sunday after Sunday to very few listeners, maybe only to a couple or none at all." . . . The *Kölnische Zeitung* reports that rationing in Slovakia is much more severe than in Germany but that textiles are not rationed, "since the population does not possess the purchasing power to create a shortage in these commodities."

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with sources and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Freezing Fascism In

BY GAETANO SALVEMINI

ON JUNE 29 the New York *Herald Tribune* warned us in a leading article that "it would be painfully easy for an occupying force, in the interest of 'order,' to freeze Italy's Fascist organization in authority. It is less likely that the Allies would permit the opposite to occur—namely, the riotous competition of anti-Fascist groups for power—during the critical period of occupation."

A plan aiming to "freeze Italy's Fascist organization in authority had been published by the New York *Times* of May 19 as "elaborated in a special message from Pius XII to Archbishop Francis J. Spellman of New York." The *Times* has always faithfully reflected Vatican policies, and therefore the authenticity of its information cannot be doubted.

According to the Vatican plan, the Fascist Party would be "immediately disbanded," but the "present prefects" would not be considered to have been "active party supporters." They would be left in their posts as heads of civil administration under the orders of an Allied Commission sitting in Rome.

Even before Mussolini came to power in Italy, provincial prefects were not elected by the people, as American governors are. They were appointed by the Home Secretary. Mussolini chose his ninety-four prefects from among the most "active" members of his party. They are the cornerstones of the Fascist system. To "disband" the Fascist Party and leave the "present" prefects as heads of civil administration would be to leave the apparatus of the Fascist regime intact.

With these facts in mind, we can guess what, according to the Vatican plan, the occupying authorities would be expected to do when they occupied a town, say, in Sicily. They would dismiss the secretary and the directors of the local Fascist branch—if they had not already run away—and close the party headquarters. Should the Fascist militia also be disbanded? Since the prefect of the province would not be regarded as an "active" supporter of the Fascist Party, the officers of the militia, who are neither better nor worse than the prefects, might logically enjoy the same privilege. However, this would be so ridiculous that we can dismiss it altogether.

There is a mayor, or *podestà*, in the town. Under the Fascist regime mayors were not elected but were chosen by Mussolini on nominations made by the prefects in agreement with the local Fascist chiefs. According to the Vatican plan, the "present" mayor, like the "present"

prefect of the province, would presumably be considered not to have been an "active party supporter."

The population of an Italian town is organized into associations of employers and professional men, and unions of clerks and laborers. These organizations are run by secretaries who have been appointed by the directors of the Fascist Party in agreement with the prefect, and who, accountable not to the membership but to the directors of the party, wield a despotic power over the membership. These men also would be considered not to have been active party supporters, and little time or effort would be needed to persuade them to carry on.

When the capital city of the province has been occupied, the local and provincial headquarters of the Fascist Party and the Fascist militia will be closed. But together with the "present" prefect, the mayor of the city and the secretaries of the local associations and unions will be left undisturbed. In the capital city there are also the "present" chief of police (*questore*), the chief justice (*primo presidente della Corte d'Appello*), and the attorney general (*procuratore generale*). They are as important as the prefect. The chief justice and the attorney general are even more hateful than the prefect and the chief of police, since they have prostituted justice for the benefit of the Fascist gangsters. But according to the Vatican plan they would doubtless also be regarded as "inactive" supporters of the Fascist Party.

If the chiefs of the occupying armies were not instructed to "freeze" Fascist authorities in power, what would they do? Let us take the instance of Palermo, a city of more than 400,000 inhabitants:

The correspondent of the New York *Herald Tribune*, who was on the spot, told us on July 28 that two days before the Allies occupied the city, the military and civil authorities abandoned it, without a word of warning to the population. The prefect, the mayor, and the secretary of the Fascist Party in the province made off by airplane. They took away all the money they could lay their hands on, including the salaries of workmen and clerks. Thus there were in Palermo none of those "leaders" with whom the wise men of the British Foreign Office and the American State Department were ready to negotiate. Yet Palermo did not fall into that condition of "chaos and anarchy" of which Mr. Churchill warned the Commons on July 27.

People who for twenty years have swallowed Fascist misinformation wondered how a whole population could

be transformed overnight from Fascist to anti-Fascist. The fact is that the overwhelming majority of the citizens of Palermo, and of all Italy, have always been anti-Fascist. The United States and Britain should not delude themselves. The Palermo demonstrations were anti-Fascist demonstrations which took the shape of "pro-Ally" demonstrations. The forces of occupation were welcomed and expected to act as "liberators." On the day they realized that the Americans and the British came there to "freeze" Fascist authorities in power, their enthusiasm would change to dangerous disappointment.

To be sure, nobody expects the forces of occupation to promote revolutions. They are there to win the war. When the war has been won, their duty is to enforce public peace. But it is one thing to enforce public peace, and it is quite another to keep Fascist authorities in power. Let us assume that the prefect, the mayor, and the secretary of the party in Palermo had not fled. They should then have been instantly removed from their posts, made prisoners of war, and sent to North Africa. The chief of police, the chief justice, the attorney general, the officers of the Fascist militia, and the local secretaries of the party, trade associations, and unions should have been dismissed from their posts. This would give everybody the immediate certainty that there would be no connivance between the Fascist authorities and the chiefs of the occupying armies.

When the Fascist "leaders" have run away, or been sent to Africa, their posts must be filled in a few days. The minor officials cannot carry on for long without directors. Here is the most difficult task for the chiefs of the armies of occupation.

A commissioner for civil administration should be appointed for each city and town. But he will not be acquainted with local conditions or persons. If our War Office has had enough vision, it has already singled out, from among the four and a half million residents and citizens of Italian origin in this country, two suitable advisers for each town or group of neighboring towns. They should be men of good education and unblemished record who are acquainted with the ways of living and thinking of the local population, and with the trustworthy men in each locality. I am afraid that nothing has been done along these lines. Let us therefore see what a commissioner could do without such help.

As I have already said, the Italian population is not an inert mass. It is organized into associations of employers and professional men and unions of clerks and laborers, and the Fascist secretaries of these local bodies should be instantly dismissed and confined as prisoners of war. But it would be a mistake to leave the trade organizations leaderless and inactive. They should be the cornerstones of the new regime. The membership of each organization should, as soon as possible, be summoned by the commissioner and empowered to choose a secre-

tary in whom it has confidence. The members know each other. They know who, during the past twenty years, did not become an auxiliary of the Fascist evildoers. When the members of the trade organizations have elected their new secretaries, the latter would be allowed to designate the provisional mayor for the city or town, the prefect, and the other provincial high officials. Thus the first nucleus of a new free local government would be set up. The commissioner, of course, would retain the right to veto reckless decisions and to oust unreliable men.

This transition would not be so easy as retaining local Fascist officials in authority, just as persuading a man is not so easy as breaking his skull. Hosts of bandwagonists and fifth columnists will foist themselves on the commissioner, pleading their long-suppressed loyalty to democracy. Not even the wisest and shrewdest man could avoid blunders. But the worst of all blunders would be the "freezing" of Fascists in power. And blunders which cannot be avoided should be made by the citizens themselves, not by the commissioner.

Then after, let us say, six months or, at the most, a year of this provisional regime, the electorate would be summoned to choose, by universal suffrage, their permanent municipal and provincial administrators.

When one has comprehended the implications of the Vatican plan and those of a possible anti-Fascist—though not revolutionary—plan, one is in a position to understand the aims of Amgot. Some principles which deserve to be greeted with unqualified approval: the Fascist Party is to be abolished; "Fascist ringleaders are to be removed from office"; the "Fascist militia and the so-called Fascist youth organizations are to be abolished"; "anti-Semitic measures are to be annulled"; "within the limits of military necessity a free press and free speech is to be promulgated"; Amgot's mission is "to liberate the Italian people from Fascism, and when this is done, to restore Italy as a free nation"; "all governmental powers and jurisdiction in occupied territories are to be vested in the military governor and in Amgot"; "exercise of the power of the Crown of Italy is to be suspended"; "Amgot will attempt to govern the people of occupied provinces and cities through their own officials"; "measures are to be taken for the prompt release of political prisoners."

Particular approval must be accorded the principle that "there will be no negotiations with exiles or refugees." Exiles and refugees are private citizens who have no right to "negotiate" with anybody about anything. It is the Italians in Italy who, when they have set up their own local and central governments, will have to "negotiate" through their lawful representatives with the occupying authorities.

Uneasiness sets in when we are told that the new civil government "will be established without any communication between the anti-Fascist exiles and the people of

Italy." If these words mean anything, they mean that men like Toscanini, Don Sturzo, Sforza, or Pacciardi will be held in the United States, as if America had become a concentration camp for them. To be sure they would commit moral suicide if they returned to Italy as Anglo-Saxon Quislings. But as soon as transportation becomes possible, they are entitled to return as private citizens and at their own risk. (The present writer is not one of the exiles who plan to go back to Italy. From the moment he made his declaration of intention, he ceased to regard himself as a refugee.)

Uneasiness grows when the Italians are warned that "no political activity of any kind will be allowed." How can free speech and a free press exist if no political activity of *any kind* is allowed? To forbid political activity is to reestablish one of the worst realities of Fascism.

Things go from bad to worse when we are informed that while the officials through which Amgot will try to govern "must not be active members of the Fascist Party," "some local officials who may have been active Fascists before the Allied landings will be retained in office." Here is the kernel of the matter, and on this point the Amgot plan and the Vatican plan are as alike as two rotten eggs. Amgot has borrowed from the Vatican plan even the distinction between "active" and "inactive" Fascists, but it goes one step farther to admit into the American-British fold even those Fascists who have been "active" right up to the moment of defeat.

A bad plan may prove good in good hands, and a good plan may become bad in bad hands. The head of Amgot will be Major Lord Rennell of Rodd. This name is a symbol. His father was ambassador to Rome from 1908 to 1919. Even when he was no longer ambassador, he was connected with Italian affairs and he and his son were enthusiastic admirers of Mussolini and fascism. A bad plan has been entrusted to the worst possible hands.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

WE GET an idea of the goods scarcity in Germany from a new edict issued by Minister of Education Rust, the text of which was printed in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* on July 13. Herr Rust decreed that hereafter children should go to school barefoot provided the weather was good. If the parents protest, they will have to be taught that going barefoot is very healthful for children. An exception can be made only in the large cities. There the children may wear "light shoes." But if they do, they must be watched to see that they do not wear stockings also. Stockings, Herr Rust said, are superfluous in all cases.

Group Leader Jürgensen is one of the heads of the

NSKK, or National Socialist Motor Corps. This is a large quasi-military organization to which the members give a few hours a day outside their regular work. Group Leader Jürgensen is not satisfied with the spirit in his corps. The Swedish newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* on July 20 was able to quote from a severe order he had recently issued to his troop. In it he criticized sharply a highly interesting development, namely, a growing tendency among members to conceal their affiliation with the NSKK and even with the Nazi Party. Many wear their uniform as little as possible; others pin their party badge, oh, so discreetly on the under side of their lapel. Such an attitude, the order said, is demoralizing. The public draws the conclusion that "the Nazis are no longer very sure of their cause."

When Bismarck in 1871 brought into existence the union of German states, the antagonisms between them did not vanish with its creation. On the contrary. The South German kingdom of Bavaria in particular emphasized its difference from the North German kingdom of Prussia. While Berlin followed a militaristic, feudal course, Munich steered one that was much more liberal, democratic, and civilized. This tradition continued until the end of the *Kaiserreich*, and it was thus the more astonishing that in the republican era Bavaria and Munich took on a very different character. Their transformation into a Mecca of the most rabid Teutonism and militarism, into the domain of Ludendorff and Hitler, seemed inexplicable. Some Bavarian psychologists, however, believed very definitely that this also was simply the result of opposition to Prussia. In Berlin after 1918 a democratic trend had become powerful; in consequence, said the Bavarian psychologists, Munich out of pure contrariness was bound to go Nazi. And they added, "If ever the Nazis make a triumphant entry into Berlin, you will see Bavaria become again rabidly anti-Nazis."

Whether this was good psychology or not, it is a fact that recently the decline of Nazism has been especially marked in Bavaria and Munich. One has only to recall the occurrences at the University of Munich a few months ago. Now the Swiss cousin of this journal, the *Zurich Nation*, in its issue of July 8, reports:

It is interesting to note that Munich has recently become the center of strong oppositional tendencies which not only are directed against National Socialism but seek to lessen the unity of the German state and thus to make it possible for Bavaria to revert to its former autonomy.

Although the active opposition is not great and is confined mainly to isolated individuals and small groups, passive resistance among large sections of the population has assumed such proportions that Munich, birthplace of the Nazi movement, has come to be called Nazi Germany's problem child.

BOOKS and the ARTS

A Forster Revival

E. M. FORSTER. By Lionel Trilling. New Directions: Makers of Modern Literature Series. \$1.50.

THE least expected literary event of the season is one of its happiest and most inspiring—a revival of the fiction of E. M. Forster. Alfred A. Knopf reissues "Where Angels Fear to Tread" and "Howards End" (\$2.50 each); New Directions reprints "The Longest Journey" and "A Room with a View" (\$1 each); with "A Passage to India" already in the Modern Library, all five of Forster's novels are thus restored to circulation. To accompany them comes the best full study of Forster's work and ideas yet written, by Lionel Trilling. The event, at this particular moment of literary and intellectual crisis, becomes more than a literary occasion: it takes on the force of a public service.

One would like to argue that a general enthusiasm for these brilliant but still neglected novels requires no critical instruction. They are among the wittiest, most original, most acutely stimulating and entertaining books of our time. They adhere to an established tradition of English comedy and criticism of manners and social conflict. The "condition of interest" is fully present, and old Forsterians will envy the uninitiated their impending shock of discovery and delight. But the possibility also exists of being deceived by Forster's superficial charms or vexed by his nettling reproof to passive attention and assent. He presents, as Mr. Trilling observed earlier, "a paradox which reverses the familiar one of the hard-boiled writer: his work looks soft but inside is hard as nails." The time has passed when the exactions of his critical insight and justice, his unflagging exercise of a moral realism very nearly unequalled in our time, can be left to accidental notice. Today it is not only the doldrums of fiction that his reappearance may relieve. It is also the greater atrophy or abdication of human and moral values—or the simplifying rigor of militant action on their behalf in which Forster has, for forty years, seen a danger fully as great as that of selfish apathy or liberal tolerance.

Forster has his limitations, his decided curtailment of creative temperament and action. They exist not only in his sometimes skittish mannerism and elusive decision of sympathy, in his condescension to adroit idiosyncrasy and "demurely bloodless gaiety" in his essays and shorter stories, in the refusals of recognition that shrink his critical perception (his judgments on James and Joyce sink to a pettiness which no creative prejudice can excuse), in his abrupt check to the demands of political commitment and responsibility. They appear more decisively in the fact that, "having twice mastered his art, he has twice abandoned it." Our feeling about him fluctuates, as Mr. Trilling says, "between disapproval of a dereliction from duty and a sense of relief that a fine artist has not seen art as a grim imperative." He seems to push his suspension of action to passivity, and of beliefs to something close to a defeatism of will. His latest critic denies him the titles of great novelist, great critic, great thinker. But all

this is the result of measuring by Forster's own standards the wholeness of his moral vision and his absolutely honest pursuit of the means by which that vision may be realized and applied to the life of muddle, evasion, compromise, and fear, of masked or stupefied purpose, at which his contemporaries have arrived. He is the historian of the fatal estrangements that underlie the defeats and humiliations of his age. He has offered it no easy palliatives. To its ethic of righteousness he has applied the Primal Curse, "the knowledge of good-and-evil"; to its morality of force and competition he has opposed the complex riddle of human relations; to its compulsive addiction to action and aggression he replies that it is the Inner Life that "pays"; to its tragic divisions of prose and passion, intellect and will, generous vitality and the protective hostilities of modern society, he poses his most passionate conviction—"Only connect." Lowes Dickinson once said that Forster's "kind of double vision squints." So it may—but we should compare what a microscope or the more ruthless lens of art exacts of our eyesight with what has been produced in this age of the fish by the smug eye of sanctimony, the glazed stare of obsession, or the lidless gaze of idiot fatuity before we credit that squint to myopia or a tic of nerves.

What plays everywhere in Forster's work is what plays in another form—to my mind in a lesser ethical and imaginative strength if in subtler directions—in the only other contemporary writing with which it closely compares, Gide's. It is a restless disquiet of moral sensibility, an uncompromising empiricism of sympathy and sincerity, the impulse, *ondoyant et divers*, of the skepticism of Socrates and Montaigne which takes as its duty the quickening to consciousness of human values and necessities that are eternally betrayed to the intolerance and brutality of social prejudice and force. This sensibility Forster has applied to a wide range of phenomena: to English cant and inhibition in conflict with the "vital mess" of Italy; to the rival claims of business and intelligence, ideals and actualities; to liberal tolerance at odds with the demands of emotion and of privation; finally to the baffling and dangerous hostility of races, worlds, and cultures in the enigma of India. Gide's ideal of the novel is also his: "a crossroads—a meeting place of problems," and so is another article of the Frenchman's faith: "Whatever your station or country, you should believe only what is true, and what you would be disposed to believe if you were of another country, another station, another religion." The dialectic intelligence of his art escapes casuistry by rooting itself in the facts of politics, of economy, and of passion. He has been, for forty years, one of the most privileged ushers down "the sinister corridor of our age" who have put their gifts at the disposal of statesmen, moralists, and educators. The fate of those gifts in these hands is a tragedy, but the tragedy is not literature's.

All this, and much more, is presented with superb tact and enviable understanding in Mr. Trilling's admirable study. He has written more than a book on Forster. It is an examination

of the conscience of contemporary literature and thinking. His chapters on the five novels are brilliant successes in making summary and analysis count for critical results; his quotations are copious but always controlled; he has traced Forster's sources, problems, and thought without misrepresenting their variety and complex conditions; he has treated with the finest justice Forster's "refusal of greatness" and the compensations that dignify it. I question some of his points: I doubt that "Howards End," with its excessive schematization, is Forster's masterpiece; for me it compares with the imperfect but more profoundly suggestive and inclusive power of "The Longest Journey" or "A Passage to India" as "The Ambassadors" compares with "The Wings of the Dove" in the work of James. I differ with some of his censures of detail and method in the novels, and with some of his indulgence of Forster's methods as a critic. But this is only to say that he has written an alive and stimulating book as well as a sound and just one—one which will stand, beyond Rose Macaulay's effusive tribute or the shorter studies of Richards, Woolf, Leavis, Austin Warren, Shanks, and Peter Burra, as the classic estimate of its subject. When he says that Forster is "for me the only living novelist who can be read again and again and who, after each reading, gives me what few writers can give us after our first days of novel-reading, the sensation of having learned something," I would qualify his "only living" with *English*, but the caution would not be wholly convinced. It is twenty-five years this summer since I read my first Forster novel; I have read some or all of his work every year since then and have not yet finished. When Mr. Trilling adds that "a consideration of Forster's work is, I think, useful in time of war," he says what his book fully verifies and what, with luck, this revival of the novels may succeed in proving. And when he concludes by saying that Forster "is one of those who raise the shield of Achilles, which is the moral intelligence of art, against the panic and emptiness which make their onset when the will is tired of its own excess," he arrives at a tribute which few living artists, of any kind, as honestly inspire or deserve.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

"The World Goes Toward . . ."

REFLECTIONS ON THE REVOLUTION OF OUR TIME.

By Harold J. Laski. The Viking Press. \$3.50.

HAROLD LASKI'S new book has two faces, the one historical, the other philosophical. After this book—particularly its historical section—it is no longer possible for Italians to complain that the success of Fascist propaganda on the one side and certain theoretical prejudices of Marxist methodology on the other obscure, for outsiders, the simple essential truths about fascism. Harold Laski's explanation of the origins and development of the Fascist adventure and of all its foreign complicities is perfect; perfect in serene though cruel detachment, perfect in psychological understanding, perfect in its human sympathy toward the poor Italian people who are guilty, of course, for not having revolted against fascism, but were also bewildered by the admiration, servility, and fear accorded by the capitals of the world to the man without whom no Hitler would ever have

appeared. (The first thirty million marks Hitler got for his secret propaganda came to him from Mussolini, not from the Ruhr magnates; their gifts followed.)

Speaking of the Duce-Führer myth, Laski says:

The leader must be immensely above his followers, but he must be also one with them and of them, distance must not interfere with the sense of intimate communion. So that leader, who is godlike, is also of common clay. He is the little man who failed in the "pluto-democracy" he came to supplant, so that all the little men who failed under that social order may recognize themselves in him.

It is by means of many such insights that Laski shows the true essence of fascism: it represents the lower middle classes in power for once, with all their pathetic illusions and naive stupidity. Probably what they most liked in Mussolini was the fact that for the first time they found a man in power who spoke their own elementary language. The same thing happened in Germany. Not in Russia, never: the theological disquisitions of Lenin on Marxist principles were not only far above the Russian masses; they were even over the average heads of the Communist oligarchy.

Laski's pages on fascism are so good that from the historical point of view only one point might be added: How did it happen that a nation which had given so many heroes to the long struggle from 1821 to 1860 against *Tedeschi* and the Bourbons offered so weak a resistance to fascism, although a resistance infinitely stronger than in Germany? Because most Italians went on saying, "It is too stupid; it cannot last." And many added, "Our grandfathers fought and died against the Hapsburgs and the Bourbons because they were powerful monarchies: they had to risk their lives to get rid of them; but should we really die for a gang of corrupt comedians?" It was at that time that Victor Emmanuel of Savoy, still trying to remain a constitutional king, said to Briand, who repeated it at once to me, "They are a bunch of fools, they cannot last long."

They lasted, just as the most typical pre-Fascist ruler of three generations ago had lasted; and Napoleon III was probably even more stupid than Mussolini. The end of the Corsican-Dutch adventurer was Sedan, just as the invasion of Italy is the end of Mussolini—and, let us hope, of all his accomplices, beginning with Victor Emmanuel of Savoy, who is guilty of having gradually moved from his skepticism of 1923 to a long series of betrayals and perjuries from 1926 to 1940.

Laski's chapter on Russia leaves me more dubious. It is too soon to assert dogmatically that the Russian Revolution will prove to be a much greater historical event than the French Revolution. It would be more prudent to wait for the developments of Russian history after this war, in which the Russian masses have fought under Stalin just as heroically as they fought under Peter the Great or Alexander I. I do not mean to exclude the possibility that a new myth or gospel may also have been a great force. A messianic conception has always thrived among the Russians. In the second half of the fifteenth century, when Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks, a Russian monk proclaimed that Moscow would some day become the third Rome, the second having been Byzantium. Dostoevski did not feel much differently in the nineteenth century. And in the twentieth the Third Inter-

national was again a manifestation of the same old thought, since Russian communism is, or has been, at once an expression of international socialism and of traditional Russian tendencies.

What strikes me most about the Russian Revolution is the crass stupidity and shortsighted selfishness of the conservatives of Western Europe; this stupidity became criminal when they discouraged Russia from becoming a dynamic member of the League of Nations at the time of Litvinov's efforts toward a true collective security. Against these classes—the same which built up Mussolini during fifteen years—Laski is severe; but not severe enough.

I like less the philosophical part of Laski's book, but it is my fault, only my fault. I have never been able to swallow intellectual exercises revolving around the eternal affirmation "the world goes toward . . ." Of course, even in this field Laski is infinitely above the cheap Spengler type, but the genre remains. It is only too evident that the world goes always toward new forms and new transformations—economic transformations, technical transformations; it is quite natural to try to foresee whether, for example, the economy of the future will be communistic or based on free competition.

The danger is—not of course for a man of Laski's moral courage, but why not for many of his readers?—that these prophecies may eliminate efforts of will or of thought, through the hypocritical admission that one obeys a "historical necessity," while we should obey, all of us, the moral necessity which our conscience imposes on us. What matters is, not to know where the world goes, but to know where we go, each one of us.

In a world shaken by a crisis less deep than ours Mazzini said to the Italians, "You will not create better situations if you do not yourselves become better." I believe more in Mazzini's message than in Oriental or Western determinisms.

SFORZA

Dr. Seagrave

BURMA SURGEON. By Lieutenant Colonel Gordon S. Seagrave, M.D. W. W. Norton and Company. \$3.

DOCTORS AWEIGH. By Rear Admiral Charles M. Oman (M. C.), U. S. N. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$2.50.

JACK BELDEN, in "Retreat With Stilwell," tells of seeing a doctor perform an operation on a porch while flames were consuming Burma; later the doctor and his native nurses accompanied General Stilwell's party in their terrible trek over the mountains to India.

That doctor was Gordon Seagrave, and he is a story in himself—a story of courage in peace as well as in war, a story of life-long heroism of the sort that usually goes unrecorded.

Dr. Seagrave's father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had been evangelistic missionaries in Lower Burma, but young Gordon rudely broke with tradition to become a medical missionary instead. He started out in Upper Burma with a waste-basketful of instruments he had salvaged from Johns Hopkins. When a native came to him needing an operation which he had never before performed, he studied

every detail in his books, then he was sick, then, still nauseated, he performed the operation. Luck, as he calls it, was with him; he won the natives' confidence and soon needed nurses to help him. Since none were available, he did what nobody ever had attempted: he trained girls of the native races to be nurses, using four languages: English, Burmese, Shan, and Kachin. Since there was no textbook of nursing, in his spare time he wrote one in Burmese.

No obstacle was too great for this incredible man. He needed a hospital, and there were no builders. He and his wife, working day and night, hauled hundreds of tons of stone and cement 130 miles from Lashio—stopping abruptly when a tiger or leopard appeared in the road—and built the hospital. He was a little man with a big bass voice, and he had no one with whom to sing; so he taught the native nurses of varied races to sing hymns. This turned out to be a real help to their morale before and during the Battle of Burma.

Of course Seagrave was not a good doctor, as the mission medical examiner in New York once said, because he got infected himself with malaria and dysentery. He should have climbed into his mosquito net at dusk every evening instead of trudging through jungles in the middle of the night answering emergency calls. Bubonic plague came to northern Burma, and he got a touch of that, too. Moreover, he incurred the ire of the British authorities by insisting on compulsory vaccination of the natives. He kept on insisting, and he stopped the plague before it crossed into China; he did not want to see Chiang Kai-shek's armies crumble from an epidemic. It is at least conceivable that Dr. Seagrave, by his personal courage and intelligence, thereby did more than any single general toward saving the United Nations' cause before the United States ever entered the war.

When war came, General Stilwell was smart enough to seize hold of a lowly medical missionary and make him a major. Dr. Seagrave, naively proud, continued his life-saving while bombs were falling. Then he and his nurses marched over the mountains in the famous retreat. All the while he was ill with malaria, and his feet were covered with atrocious sores. He reached India barely alive—and immediately set up a hospital to save the lives of straggling military and civilian refugees following along that horrible trail.

Dr. Seagrave wrote "Burma Surgeon" himself, simply, informally, with humor. It is good that no ghost-writer intervened, because in these pages one meets, face to face, a great man.

One of the mildly fascinating things about the war books is the way they mesh. The persevering reader keeps coming across the same tales from different angles. In "Doctors Aweigh" Rear Admiral Oman is interested, for example, in Eddie Rickenbacker's escape after twenty-one days at sea primarily because it illustrated points the navy medical service has been thinking about, such as the effects of dehydration on shipwrecked humans, how to guard against immersion foot, and the merits of certain fish juices. The Admiral skips along to the story of Dr. Wassell, whom he makes a much more forceful and believable character than did James Hilton. And in this cheerily eclectic book we hear again about Pearl Harbor, with emphasis on the astonishing role played by sulfa drugs and blood plasma.

Admiral Oman, who has been a navy doctor for forty years, is interested in all manner of problems, from rounding up lepers in Guam to dealing with the bodily phenomena of a flier who for a few seconds weighs 1,000 pounds or more at the upturn of his bombing dive. The Admiral enjoys telling stories, whether they happened to him or not, and he wanders interestingly although haphazardly through the whole range of navy medical experience.

MARCUS DUFFIELD

Human Rights and Human Society

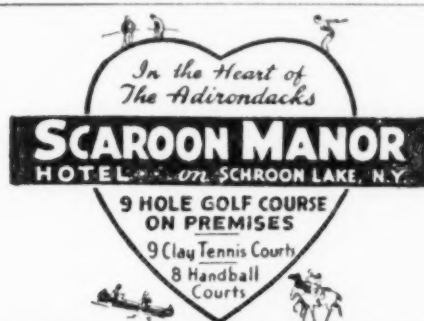
THE RIGHTS OF MAN AND NATURAL LAW. By Jacques Maritain. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

IT IS ironic that two books as diverse in their treatment of a common subject as Burnham's "The Machiavellians" and this small volume by Jacques Maritain could have been issued within a single year. The contrast between them is at least as great as the contrast between the thirteenth century and the sixteenth. And yet, despite Burnham's "realism," his book is probably the more provincial of the two, and certainly the more dogmatic.

Professor Maritain is of course a Catholic, the foremost modern disciple of St. Thomas, and he is concerned here with two related but sometimes conflicting matters: the natural basis of human society and the divine basis of human rights. A good Aristotelian, the nature of a thing is defined for him by its function, and he sees society as both an expression and an imperfect fulfilment of human needs. Like his master St. Thomas, and in the words of his Anglo-Catholic contemporary T. S. Eliot, he is convinced that "society is for the salvation of the individual and the individual must be sacrificed to society." But while the state has temporal autonomy, "the human person naturally transcends the state, to the extent that the former enfolds a destiny superior to time"; so that "law . . . is law only if just and promulgated by legitimate authority, not because the majority or the state can be the standard of conscience." What this implies, of course, is the foundation of every orthodoxy, that there is one incontrovertible basis of moral judgment which reason can discover and to which the will must conform; and in an essay of this sort that is the crucial assumption. Yet it is precisely at this point that Professor Maritain's ingenuousness almost disarms criticism: natural law is simply "an order" defined by "the necessary ends of the human being," since "there is a human nature and this human nature is the same in all men"—a statement which in this context is trivial if true, and in the sense in which it is intended is undoubtedly false. Certainly it doesn't refute the fact—always embarrassing to a theologian—of moral diversity. And Maritain indirectly confesses as much when, with Pascal, he deplores Montaigne's observation "that among certain peoples, incest and thievery were considered virtuous acts."

It is very easy to quarrel with Professor Maritain's assumptions, to question his metaphysical motives; yet it is false to underrate either his influence or his good-will. His bias in this book, for example, is surprisingly secular, and though he adds nothing to our knowledge of modern society, much of what he says is sound and admirable. Himself a former

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Socialist, he denounces "bourgeois individualism"—repeatedly using that phrase—as vehemently as any Marxist; but though he looks forward to a gradual abridgment of private enterprise, he is convinced that private property and what he calls a "pluralist society" are essential conditions of freedom.

This aversion to unified political authority, which is certainly unusual in a scholastic thinker, leads him to propose, instead of collectivism, a system of "associative ownership of the means of production" by "management-technicians, workers, investors." The merits of such an idea are not unquestionable, as any scholar of economics will show, yet what is chiefly significant is how Maritain envisages the role of society as the progressive conquest of servitude and inequality—moral, material, and intellectual—as the steady liberation of human creative energies, and, finally, as the "establishment of a brotherly city where man shall be free from misery and bondage." Inseparable from its theology, the message can nevertheless be read in secular terms; and it should commend itself, especially in this dark time, to humanists everywhere.

Professor Maritain's book is so generous, and even sagacious, in its social idealism that one regrets both his addiction to metaphysics and the fact that his ultimate commitments are other than naturalistic. For like most works of its kind, much of it is written with a calculated vagueness that borders sometimes on obfuscation. The first pages tell us, for example, that "the aim of society is its own *common good*" (Maritain's italics), which is *not* the same as the "individual good or the mere aggregate of the individual goods of each of the persons who constitute it." But surely it is difficult to imagine what else it could be; and one suspects that in spite of Maritain's clear intention to the contrary, room has been left for political authoritarianism of some sort: one feels that the chief intellectual adversary of freedom is not fascism or any other alternative doctrine, but confusion.

MARTIN LEBOWITZ

Fiction in Review

IN A curious fashion it is at once the achievement and the misfortune of S. I. Hsiung's "The Bridge of Heaven" (Putnam's, \$2.75) that less than halfway through it I had forgotten it was a novel about China, written by a Chinese, and had begun to judge it as I would judge any Western novel. For clearly, in proportion as a novel is a good novel, it invites the creative participation of the reader; we all of us, however unconsciously, write as we read; this participation is our stake in a work of fiction, and we instinctively turn away, bored or untouched, from the novel which doesn't invite us to share in its creation. Yet obviously this participation is possible only when a novel deals with people close enough to ourselves culturally for us to make some sort of identification with them. In the case of Oriental fiction such a wall of mystery separates us from the Oriental way of thinking that the identification is very difficult; the best of Western readers are likely to approach a novel of China or Japan as if it were a work of non-fiction—educational or quaint, but not our kind of fun. As it were a priori,

denied a share in the creative experience, we are robbed of our most reliable way of judging a novel, and so we cease to judge at all.

Well, it is the achievement of "The Bridge of Heaven" that it contradicts this generalization. Mr. Hsiung not only writes flawless English, but except for details of local color his novel might quite as well be about English, Americans, or Frenchmen as about Chinese; for that matter, a novel about the Chinese nationalist revolution which overthrew the Manchu dynasty, its psychological and ideational tone is so little peculiarly Chinese that, with the necessary changes of names, places, etc., it could be a strictly routine statement of revolution anywhere. Either Mr. Hsiung is unusually assimilated to Western culture or—what is more likely—the wall of mystery between the East and West can be more easily broken through than we have been led to suppose. But here lies the misfortune of his novel: it makes it possible for the Western reader to share in the creative process, judgment is restored, and we read "The Bridge of Heaven" as we would read its Western counterpart, without fear or favor—and conclude that it is estimable, workman-like, but hardly worth getting excited about either one way or another. Like any one of the dozen American novels on national themes which appear each season, Mr. Hsiung's novel is a useful refresher in history but no real contribution to world literature.

Perhaps I should add that this opinion runs counter to the copious judgments, quoted on the dust jacket, which compare Mr. Hsiung to everyone from Goldsmith to Dickens. Myself, I found the irony which pervades the first section of the book self-conscious and tiresome, and the humor heavy-handed. In fact, I am afraid that my admiration for this first novel by the author of the highly successful play "Lady Precious Stream" pretty much ends with my admiration for his tasteful prose.

Another novel to which my response will probably be of the minority is "I Am Thinking of My Darling" by Vincent McHugh (Simon and Schuster, \$2.50). Labeled an adventure story, Mr. McHugh's novel is actually a fantasy of what would happen to New York if a large part of the population were suddenly infected by the virus of instinctive behavior; what does happen is that people quit their jobs, money makes no difference, telephones go dead and elevators stall, women throw their skirts over their heads in the streets to pull down their girdles, and offer themselves to the hero in a number to satisfy the imaginings of the most incorrigible fifteen-year-old. Also the medical-research people have a field day.

It strikes me as a disappointingly primitive notion of instinctive behavior coming from someone who seems to be second only to Aldous Huxley as a delver into the scientific mysteries. Of course an author is entitled to his own fantasies, and if Mr. McHugh chooses to make his virus a microscopic bluebird, he must be allowed his Saroyan. But I would have preferred a little less love-and-happiness and a little more of what really makes people tick—it's more adventuresome. Too, something in me doesn't relish the combination of city planning and biochemistry with hot jazz. That, however, may be a prejudice.

DIANA TRILLING

MUSIC

PART of the compensation for the writing of this column has been the pleasure I have had from some of the letters it has brought me. Several have come from a reader in a North Carolina university town who first wrote to me two and a half years ago about record distribution in the provinces (more about that in a moment). A little over a year ago he turned up in person to give me a report on music in the provinces. He was on his way home from the Ann Arbor Festival; and I was interested in his account of the doings at such occasions: the Philadelphia Orchestra playing without some of its first-desk men, participating after insufficient rehearsal in a performance of Honegger's "King David" with the University Choral Union, playing a concerto with Feuermann—if I remember correctly—with no rehearsal at all. But more interesting and impressive was his description of music in his own province: of the violinist in this town, the violist in that one, the cellist fifty miles away, the horn player in another part of the state, and all the other musicians similarly scattered about traveling long distances to rehearse for concerts of chamber music, to sit in with the university orchestra for symphony concerts, and to take part in annual Mozart festivals including—believe it or not—performances of the operas.

The war had begun to interfere with all this; and the letter which I received from him the other day came from Boston, where he had been sent by the army. It described the first of the concerts that are being given this summer by the principals and other players of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, and contained observations which I think will be interesting to other readers of this column. The program included Mozart's Divertimento K. 251, part of the "Haffner" Serenade K. 250, and the Piano Concerto K. 453; the orchestra comprised two of each woodwind, two horns, four first violins, three second violins, two violas, two cellos, one bass; and he writes: "The balance was just right, except in a few tuttis in the concerto, when the winds were a little strong for the strings. The orchestra was just large enough to make a plausible body of sound for the fortes, and small enough for every part, every line to come through with clarity. The strings played well, but it is the wind playing I will remember longest for ensemble

and tone . . . and of all the wind players I will remember longest M. Gillet's oboe playing. . . .

"Mr. Goldovsky conducted like an amateur who was doing the one thing in the world he wanted to do: play music he was in love with. If he did not have the orchestra under an iron control, it was not necessary: the men knew what they were supposed to do, and Mr. Goldovsky knew the music and knew how he wanted it played. To my mind the performances were thus preferable to many American performances, which have a cast-iron mechanical perfection about them which renders them distasteful to me: they are so mechanically perfect that I am given to wondering whether the musicians knew, or cared, or had any feeling for the music they were playing. It is the absence of this quality that causes me to enjoy the performances of the old London Philharmonic under Sir Tommy: the performances are human enough to let you know whether the people are playing intelligently; and whether it is music they understand and enjoy. . . . It is for this reason that I often enjoy a performance by amateurs who, if they do not play with such perfection, play with love and intelligence, to a performance by professionals. This afternoon we had professionals playing with the spirit of amateurs, which, to my way of thinking, is best of all."

As for that letter about record distribution, my correspondent, whose family had a camera business, contrasted the Eastman Company's method with that of Victor and Columbia. The Eastman Company dealt directly with its retailers, who ordered from the company's warehouses and received what they had ordered within a week or ten days. Victor and Columbia, on the other hand, dealt with retailers only through intermediate jobbers with exclusive franchises for their regions; and my correspondent described the delays which resulted from this set-up. Even if the recording which the retailer ordered was a popular or recent one that the regional jobber had in stock, it took at least ten days to arrive; but if it was an older recording or something out of the ordinary that the jobber did not keep in stock and that he had to order from the factory, it never took less than a month, often took two months, sometimes took six, and sometimes never arrived at all. And if the set arrived with broken or scratched records there were the same procedure and delays with replacements.

I inquired about this of people in the

trade, whose explanation was that each of the regional jobbers had too small a territory to be able to stock the entire catalogue, and that the factory did not keep stocks of everything in the catalogue on hand to take care of orders as they came in, but preferred to wait for a large number of orders to pile up before it pressed an older or out-of-the-ordinary item. Instead of publishing all this I tried the experiment of being "constructive": I had the *Nation* forward my correspondent's letter to the president of the parent corporation of one of the companies to see what improvement this would produce in the situation. It brought the expected assurance that the company's service to dealers and public was perfection, and a request for information that would enable the company to investigate; and months later, when I wrote to ask, my correspondent reported a slight improvement in service, but not enough to have kept him from giving up the buying of records altogether. I had written to ask because of another reader's complaint about the months of delay in obtaining records from the cooperative of a large eastern college, which had explained its difficulties in getting them from the regional jobber who in turn had to get them from a factory which waited for orders to accumulate before it pressed the records. Both complaints, I should add, credited Columbia with giving a little better service than Victor at that time—1941, which was long before the present shortages produced by the war (my North Carolina correspondent wrote about experiences as far back as 1935). I hope the companies are planning a method of distribution that will improve their service when the war is over.

B. H. HAGGIN

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REACTION in CONGRESS —THE RECORD

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Letters to the Editors

What's the Evidence?

Dear Sirs: Whether one agrees or disagrees with James Boyd's point of view regarding the proper strategy for Negroes in the present crisis, one cannot accept his assumptions concerning human nature and the nature of race contacts.

Mr. Boyd states at the beginning of his article that the most rudimentary factor affecting the Negro's position in American society is "man's primitive antagonism to the strange." As evidence he states that "the alien cast up on the beach is killed because his color, speech, smell are different." This assumption concerning "man's primitive antagonism to the strange" is not new. It belongs among the many erroneous folk beliefs concerning human nature. There is no scientific evidence either in psychological or anthropological research to substantiate it. Unless they are otherwise conditioned by personal experience, traditions, or customs, the attitude of men toward the strange is properly described as fascination. When a white child first meets a black person he does not experience a feeling of antagonism or even fear. Mr. Boyd should know this from the history of blacks and whites in the South. Moreover, he should have learned from the history of race relations in the South that when the Negro had a well-defined status in the social organization as well as in the economic organization of the South during slavery and relations between the two races were regulated by an established etiquette, not only was there no racial antagonism but the maximum intimacy between the two races could be maintained. One would like to know what evidence Mr. Boyd has for his statement that "the alien cast up on the beach is killed" because he is strange. From what I have read of such instances, people have regarded aliens with fascination at first and then have disposed of them according to their customs and beliefs or interests. Sometimes the stranger has been treated as a god and accorded special respect, and when he was eaten, it often occurred not because he was strange but because he was thought to possess some special power or virtue.

In view of these facts, it is unnecessary to attribute the attitude of whites

toward Negroes to an impulse "rooted in nature's urge to eliminate the atypical from her breeding program." If there had been such a mystical urge in nature, the appearance of *Homo sapiens* in the course of evolution would have been impossible. Whether one accepts the Darwinian hypothesis concerning variations in nature or the findings of modern genetics, one must conclude that the evolutionary process has been characterized by the breeding of the atypical. When one considers breeding in man, it is clear that even if such a thing as "nature's urge to eliminate the atypical" ever existed, the urge has been nullified by human association and customs and traditions. Not only the Portuguese and the Spanish but in some instances even the British in their relations with colonial peoples have not shown an urge to eliminate the atypical. To bring the matter closer home, it is common knowledge that although mixed bloods in the South have not become a part of the white social organization, they have enjoyed some special privileges, and there has been no general urge to eliminate them.

In the light of these facts Mr. Boyd's assumptions concerning human nature and the nature of race relations appear as mere rationalizations of current attitudes of whites. Although racial attitudes are not fundamentally affected by showing that the rationalizations which support them are false, it is necessary to insist that those who discuss race relations dispassionately and on a scientific plane base their arguments upon science rather than folk beliefs concerning human nature and biological urges.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Washington, D. C., June 28

In Defense of Teachers

Dear Sirs: I have just read Mr. Barnard's very able discussion of the Good Teacher problem in your July 3 issue. As I said in my letter to him I found myself in perfect agreement with his entire thesis, with the exception of one item: *more*, not *less*, work should be required of young student teachers in the field of child and adolescent psychology. Unfortunately too many of our teachers and administrators know surprisingly little of what really makes Johnny tick. From this ignorance come

many brilliant non sequiturs, vast misunderstanding, sharp conflicts, emotional disturbances.

But otherwise Barnard is dead right. The teaching profession, which should be one of the most highly respected in American life, is often instead the subject of farce and caricature. It is true the profession is riddled with adolescence. It is true that thousands go into it because they have the fear of competing in the outside world. The system serves as a good, omnipotent, all-giving Mother (a check regularly, specific hours, tenure very often, etc.). But to many men and women teaching offers creative possibilities that are limitless. Given a fighting chance, the intelligent, progressive, vigorous school teacher—and the element is growing—can do as nifty a piece of creative work as a Kuniyoshi with brush and palette or a Jo Davidson with chisel and marble. He can, and I mean this *literally*, build a healthier, more wholesome, more democratic America. But when in the midst of a war for survival and for democracy—just listen to some of the fascist talk in school—a man can be criticized by a superior for scratching his ear ever so lightly while he is giving a terribly vital lesson on democracy, he begins to follow the "letter" of the teaching day, not the spirit. In order to avoid criticism he applies himself to form not content, shadow not substance. This is one of the reasons why the artists in teaching go begging; why teaching is so often the enthronement of mediocrity.

Of course, "the real villain of the piece," as Barnard puts it, "is an unenlightened and indifferent public." All right, let's enlighten the public. We've done it before. We've moved a long distance from the time when a young schoolmaster had to explain to the town fathers why he had had the temerity to walk down the street with his female secretary (read Professor Elsbree's book "The American Teacher" for other indignities teachers have experienced).

But there is still a long distance to go. Let's rid ourselves of our notorious timidity and reticence. Let's communicate the real facts to the American people and show them that, when we're allowed to, we do a preciously important job with Johnny and Janie. We want to be respected for the job; we want the profession of teaching accorded the dig-

nity it deserves, and, lest I forget, we want the teacher properly remunerated—the teacher shortage in the country today is no accident. Let's make the teaching profession something more than a stepping-stone to better things. Let's make it the noble profession it is. Only in this way will it attract the country's better students.

Mr. Barnard has done a real service with his long letter. He is to be congratulated. But what are we going to do about it? CHARLES G. SPIEGLER

New York, July 4

P. S. Oh, yes, I've been teaching for about ten years myself. C. G. S.

It Depends

Dear Sirs: In the American Agency bulletin under the heading Federal Crop Death Sentence appears the following paragraph: "The collapse of the government's \$35,000,000 FCIC vindicates the long-established belief of leading American farm underwriters, namely, *that crop insurance has never been necessary, that too great a risk is involved*, and that the expense of handling the program is so high that an adequate premium rate is created out of all proportion to what a successful farmer would be willing to pay [my italics]."

Contradictions mean nothing to the writer of the article. Later in this same article appears this statement: "It was tried by one or two large fire-insurance companies more than twenty-five years ago and rejected inasmuch as *it involved a risk unsuitable for private carriers*."

Assuming that the writer is correct in stating that crop insurance involves a risk unsuitable for private carriers, it does not follow that it is unsuitable for the government as a carrier. Incidentally, with very few exceptions, the private carriers ducked out on war-damage insurance and were very insistent that the government must handle it because it was too big a proposition for private interests. The essence of the matter seems to be that if you can make money at it, it is a matter for private enterprise; if you can't make money at it, it is a matter for the government, provided you happen to be among those who are likely to get hurt. However, if you are not among those who are likely to get hurt, the government shouldn't interfere either.

Despite the fact that I am in the insurance business I can't quite follow the reasoning of ever so many who are connected with it. JACOB PODOLOFF
New Haven, Conn., July 21

Appeal to Good Neighbors

Dear Sirs: The Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America has received a request from Jorge Falcon, editor of *Hora del Hombre*, of Lima, Peru, regarding the recent fire that destroyed the National Library of Lima.

The fire at the Biblioteca Nacional represents a lamentable loss that can never be replaced without the help of the people, the intellectuals, and the institutions of all other countries of America. . . .

Since this fire affects us directly as being among the intellectual defenders of culture and of the democratic principles which encourage its development, we, the editors of *Hora del Hombre*, a magazine designed to maintain Peruvian thought and Peru's cultural position in the world, take the initiative for making an appeal to all intellectuals and their representative institutions in all countries of America to solicit their co-operation in the creation of a new Biblioteca Nacional by donating books, documents, and collections. . . .

We should like to note that our request is not official and has no connection with the Peruvian government; it is made entirely on our own initiative. Thus all packages should be sent directly to the Ministerio de Educación, Pública, Dirección de Extensión Cultural y Educación Artística, at Lima, Peru. . . .

All serious books, manuscripts, or libraries in Spanish, English, or any other language should be sent to the above address.

LLOYD MALLAN
New Haven, Conn., June 24

Prophet of the Common Man

Dear Sirs: I read in the New York Times Book Review of July 11 a sympathetic review by John MacCormac of Henry A. Wallace's book "The Century of the Common Man," a collection of speeches delivered by him in the course of two and a half years, edited by Russell Lord and published by Reynal and Hitchcock. The review was printed under the heading, "Mr. Wallace views the Future with Steadfast Faith. A Noble Credo for Tomorrow."

As I had had the good fortune to read most of the speeches and writings of Mr. Wallace, I was grateful to Russell Lord and the publisher, for I saw in this a wonderful opportunity for the men and women of our armed forces to get acquainted with the thoughts and ideas of our Vice-President, who is the spokesman and prophet of the common man.

I therefore purchased through *The Nation* 610 copies of the book to be distributed to the libraries and reading-rooms of the navy and army and also the merchant marine.

But six hundred books are only a drop in the bucket, and it would be nice if some of your readers would join me in this venture.

DR. JOSEPH WEINREBE
Brookline, Mass., July 24

Bewildered

Dear Sirs: A group of Latin American writers at present in the United States wish to express spontaneously and publicly our bewilderment that "South American Journey," Waldo Frank's latest book, should be having in his own country a critical reception so little in accord with the book's great importance.

In this moment, when inter-Americanism is being everywhere proclaimed as the vital problem of the continent, there is neglect of a work which, more than any of the others recently published on this theme, can contribute to a real understanding of the peoples south of the Rio Grande.

We may or may not dissent from the political opinions of Waldo Frank. But we are all agreed that "South American Journey" is the work of a true writer; it does not consist of the anecdotal and conventional observations with which the "professionals" of pan-Americanism have surfeited us; on the contrary, it is the conscientious and deep study of an American who has approached us on the level of equality and understanding, with no condescension and no puerile search for the exotic.

Waldo Frank brings to the cause of inter-Americanism his vision of the artist and of the thinker who, since his youth, has contributed so much to the knowledge and analysis of the whole complex modern world.

There are in "South American Journey" observations which may wound the susceptibilities of some Americans, both of the North and of the South. But we approve of the candor of Waldo Frank, because we are convinced that candor must be the base of true understanding between us. And to the true understanding no one else has contributed so much.

MARIA ROSA OLIVER, Argentina
VICTORIA OCAMPO, Argentina
MARIA LUISA BOMBAL, Chile
ERNESTO MONTENEGRO, Chile
CIRO ALEGRIA, Peru
MARIANO PICON SALAS, Venezuela
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All the signatures attached to this letter have been authorized personally, either to me or to *Ciro Alegria*.

MARIA ROSA OLIVER
New York, July 7

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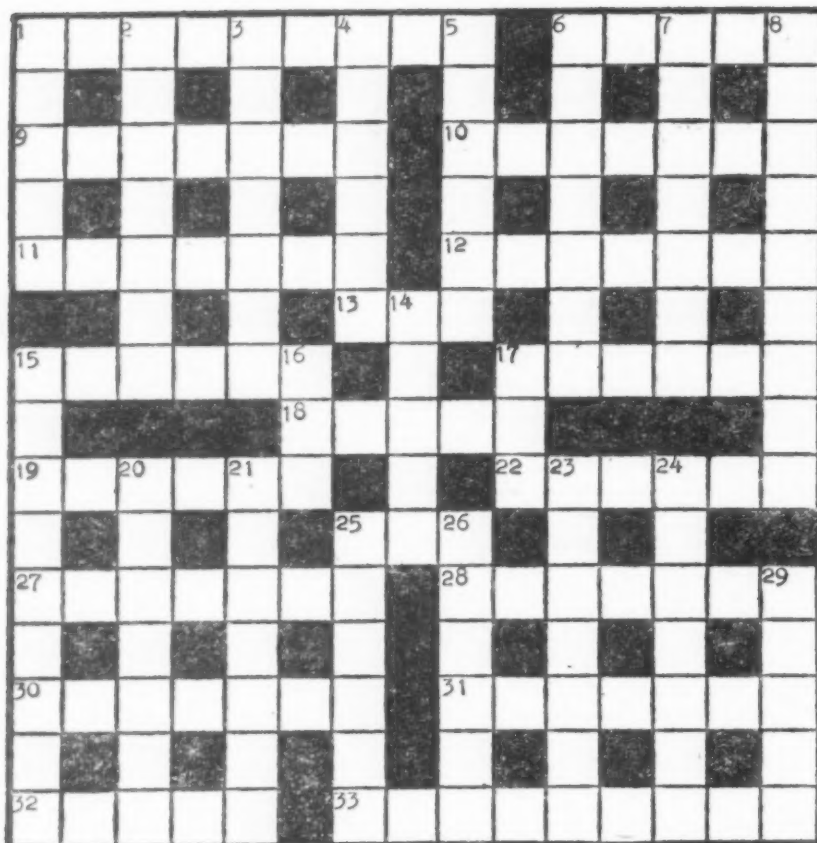
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Cross-Word Puzzle No. 24

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 Auto race in the blooming garden
- 6 The poor man's Parnassus, according to Emerson
- 9 Your car won't go forward if it's in this
- 10 On the air on the hour on the London radio (two words, 4 and 3)
- 11 Character in H. M. S. Pinafore
- 12 Shut in
- 13 Twirl a knob and there's your double!
- 15 Give over
- 17 Sheridan, in *The Critic*, spoke of one being crossed in love
- 18 Bury this
- 19 Splendour in Ulster
- 22 Dr. Johnson wrote of the -----ing elegance of female friendship
- 25 Return without the utensil
- 27 It may be mostly a conundrum to you; it is not to the cook
- 28 Where to look for cartridges?
- 30 Pictures that tell a story
- 31 It is a play upon words
- 32 Sounds an appropriate name for a car, from the pedestrian's point of view
- 33 Unique type

DOWN

- 1 No thoroughbred dog starts what hogs are
- 2 Shows
- 8 Stuffy, or is it bald for a Cockney?
- 4 I see two consecutive letters of the alphabet here
- 5 Is the absence of good spirits re-

- sponsible for the state of this world?
- 6 What makes Mimi unhappy? A parrot perhaps
- 7 Drink wine for sustenance
- 8 A hundred up with the native servant, a figure at Pharaoh's court (hyphen, 3 and 6)
- 14 To make it join turn it round in it
- 15 Awfully pleased and so naturally light-hearted
- 16 A neckwear result
- 17 They certainly smelt it
- 20 Sick at heart and altogether upset
- 21 The production of this drink is almost entirely a Russian triumph (two words, 3 and 4)
- 23 Buddhist paradise
- 24 Manatee (anag.)
- 25 The sane always have this excuse
- 26 Two containers in one
- 29 Proverbially true

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 23

ACROSS:—1 ALL FOURS; 5 MARROW; 10 CONTEST; 11 ABRIDGE; 12 STABLE; 14 ARRESTED; 16 ANANIAS; 17 DEANS; 18 DRAY; 20 DUCTILE; 22 LACK; 24 INGLE; 26 REVERED; 29 TOREADOR; 30 SPADES; 32 AMERICA; 33 CAPABLE; 34 ENTREE; 35 OUTRIGHT.

DOWN:—1 ACCESS; 2 LINEAGE; 3 OVERLAND; 4 RUTH; 6 AGREES; 7 RED STAR; 8 WEEK DAYS; 9 MAORI; 13 ENSURED; 14 ANOTHER; 15 RALLIES; 19 FLAT RACE; 21 ENDPAPER; 23 CURRENT; 25 LADYBUG; 26 RAVINE; 27 VOCAL; 28 ASCENT; 31 ECRU.

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CONTRIBUTORS

ALAN BARTH is an editorial writer for the *Washington Post*. He was formerly on the staff of the OWI.

JOACHIM JOESTEN is an assistant editor of *Newsweek*, dealing with foreign affairs. Doubleday, Doran are bringing out his new book on August 20.

FRANCIS WESTBROOK, JR., is editor of *Textile Age*, an industrial monthly.

GAETANO SALVEMINI, formerly professor of modern history at the University of Florence, is now teaching at Harvard. He is the author of "The Fascist Dictatorship in Italy" and "Under the Axe of Fascism."

COUNT SFORZA resigned as Italy's Minister of Foreign Affairs when Mussolini came to power. He led the fight against fascism in Italy from 1921 to 1925, when he was forced to leave the country. Last year, at an international conference in Montevideo, Uruguay, he was elected chairman of the Free Italian National Committee.

MARTIN LEBOWITZ has contributed articles to the *Journal of Philosophy* and the *Kenyon Review*.

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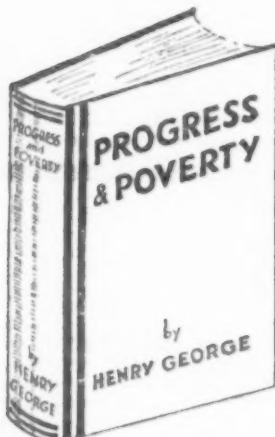
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